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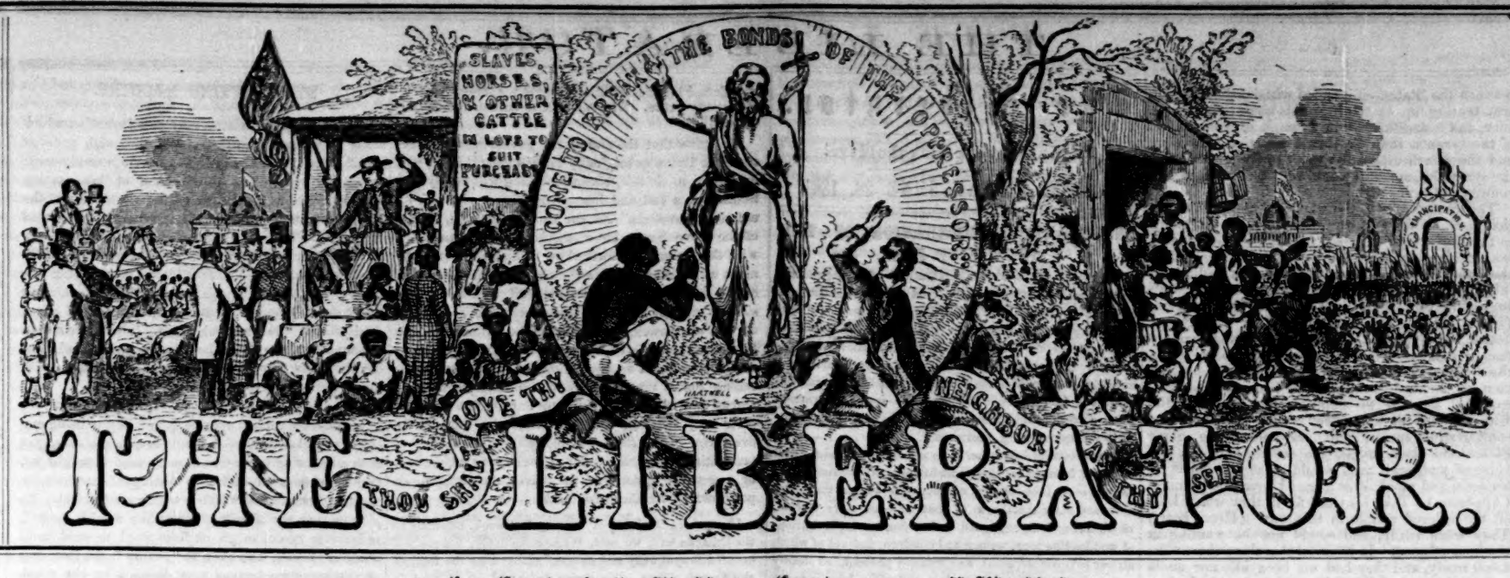
SLAVES, HORSES, & OTHER CATTLE IN LOVE TO SUIT PURCHASERS
COME TO BREAK THE BONDS OF THE OPPRESSOR
THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOR AS THY SELF
THE LIBERATOR.

The United States Constitution is "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell."

☞ "What order of men under the most absolute of monarchies, or the most aristocratic of republics, was ever invested with such an odious and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the Hall of this House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential mansion? This investment of power in the owners of one species of property concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call government thus constituted a Democracy is to insult the understanding of mankind. . . . It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and of slavery. There is no name in the language of national jurisprudence that can define it—no model in the records of ancient history, or in the political theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It was introduced into the Constitution of the United States by an equivocation—a representation of property under the name of persons. Little did the members of the Convention from the Free States imagine or foresee what a sacrifice to Moloch was hidden under the mask of this concession."—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

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Selections.

SOUTHERN BARBARITY.

The Philadelphia papers relate the following incidents:—

"Mr. George Robinson, formerly a resident of Newburg, Orange County, N. Y., who has managed to return alive from a Southern tour, recently, called upon the Mayor of Camden, and filed a deposition of the indignities and gross outrages to which he had been subjected by the chivalrous people of Dixie. The document bears upon its face the evidence of its truthfulness, and is beside certified to by Theodore Ringsley, George Smith, and Thomas Reeves Thomson, of New Jersey. Mr. Robinson states that, in September last, he left New York, and went to Virginia, where he began to work for a man by the name of Samuel Bein. Everything went along smoothly enough until the 16th of last April. At 9 o'clock on that evening, he retired to his bed, feeling rather unwell. Before he had fairly got to sleep, a posse of men, ten in number, came up to his room, and rapped at the door. On his asking them what they wanted, they replied by charging him with being a suspicious character, to which crime, as they alleged, he added the still blacker one of being a Northerner, and nothing would suit the gentry but he must get out of his bed and open the door for them.

"He stated to his captors that he was quite unwell, and asked them to allow him to remain where he was until next morning, when he would accompany them without offering the least resistance. Acquiescence in the wishes of a Northerner was not in the nature of their mood, however; and the motion was negatived unanimously. Seeing that the chances of effectual expostulation were ten to one against him, Mr. Robinson proceeded to partly dress himself. Three of the unanimous Council of Ten then seized him, drew him across the room, and very coolly kicked him down the stairs. Not even content with the satisfaction which that act afforded them, the party then came to the foot of the stairs, and jumped upon and otherwise maltreated him! All this, however, was only the initial chapter of their ruffianism. After having abused him shamefully, they dragged him across the road to a piece of woods about eighty yards distant, where they left him. Sick, feeble, and bruised as he was, he was compelled to lie there until the next morning (April 17.) He then made for the Potomac River, where he met a fisherman, who took him across to Georgetown. He at once proceeded to Washington City, and called on Mayor Barrett, who in various ways assisted him on hearing of his gross wrongs.

"The services of two physicians (Drs. Morgan and McCormick) were procured, and his condition somewhat improved under their skillful treament. Nevertheless, his body is still shockingly bruised. As soon as he was able, he started for Philadelphia via the Northern Central road, walking the entire distance. He was a whole week in reaching Lancaster. On his way through Maryland, he was frequently stopped and catechized, and reached the city yesterday, almost worn out with exhaustion. His case is one of peculiar hardship, and we have accordingly felt it our duty thus to bring it before the public authorities."

HOW THEY HANG, SHOOT, AND BURN FOLKS.

A letter from a young lady, at Evansville, Ind., dated May 5, contains a description of outrages committed by the Southern traitors. She says:—

"For the last few days, our city has been literally filled with deserters from the Southern army, and they are, or seem to be, the happiest men alive to get on free soil again. They are all for the Union, but had been forced into the Southern army. There were five of these men who came up from Memphis on Friday; they were in father's store, and told him how they were treated. They went South with several boatloads of tobacco for the purpose of selling it; there were thirty men in all, I believe; they were taken from their boats, and had to choose between joining the Southern army, or having all the hair shaved off their heads, having a number of lashes on the bare back, and being put in prison for thirty days upon a diet of bread and water. What do you think of that? I think it is perfectly brutal. Five of the men were true to the Union—the five who told this story; the others (25) joined the army, but intend to escape. The five men had all the hair shaved off their heads, and their backs were terribly mutilated. They escaped from prison, and run all the way to the river, and got aboard the boat which brought them here.

"Another young man, by the name of James, told father his story yesterday. He is also a deserter. He said the secessionists tried to force him and four companions to join their army. Three of them said they would not do it; that they preferred death, and all three of them were hung on the nearest tree, in the presence of all the soldiers and their comrades. The fourth one called them cowards, thieves, traitors, and taunted and cursed them, when they poured coal tar on him, and set fire to it. Mr. James joined the army. At night he was awakened by some one creeping over his body. He asked what they were doing. They said they were going to desert. He joined them. When he got outside of the camp, he ran until he came to a railroad station. It so happened that he had money enough to take him to Memphis, where he got on the boat, and never stopped until he reached our place. He does not know what became of those that left with him, as he ran faster than they, and left them behind. At the time he was forced to join the army, he was at Pensacola, and it was there where the three men were hung and the one burned."

HOW SECESSIONISTS TREAT DEFENCELESS WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

The train from Cincinnati yesterday afternoon brought a family who had been driven out of the South on account of their Northern birth. The family consisted of a mother and three little children. The woman, who told her story in a straightforward manner, without any attempt to obtain charity by its means, stated that her name was Phebe Drew, that she was originally from Maine, but that for the last four or five years she had lived with her husband, who was also from Maine, in Dallas County, Southern Arkansas, near the post village of Fairview. They had a farm, and kept a lumber yard. Since the troubles broke out, that part of Arkansas has been in a most lawless condition. Union men were hung, shot, or cut down wherever found. Within three weeks, eight men have been shot for expressing Union sentiments in that neighborhood, and two of them were Methodist preachers. About three weeks ago, her husband was threatened with death on account of his Northern birth and known Union sentiments. He fled in the night, intending, if possible, to make his way to Maine, and directing her to settle up affairs and follow as soon as could be safely done. Since then, she has heard nothing of him, and is ignorant of his fate.

As soon as her husband fled, the Secessionists seized the lumber yard, and all the available property connected with it. A few days since, they visited her and stole her cow, entered the house and carried off everything in it—even to the meal, bread, molasses and bacon—leaving not a mouthful of bread for herself and three little children. They then ordered her to leave the State forthwith. Hastily gathering up the few effects left her into four boxes, she hired a conveyance to take her partly on her way. The thieving scoundrels stole the largest of the boxes, saying that three trunks were enough for a woman to travel with.

When she started, she had $20 in her pocket. After many hardships, insults, and dangers, she reached the Free States. During her passage through the South, she found no one to give her the slightest assistance. Once in the Free States, she found no difficulty in obtaining a passage toward her home.

When she arrived here, she was wretchedly clad, and her children were barefooted. They wore the same clothes in which they had set out from home, which were those they wore when the Secessionists broke in upon them. She had only $2 to take her to Maine, and provide for the children and herself on the way. Supt. Nottingham gave her passes on the Lake Shore Railroad, and some of the railroad officers gave her an addition to her slender stock of funds. The poor woman was deeply grateful, though she hesitated about taking assistance in money, and her manner was convincing proof that she was no beggar, imposing on the credulity of the public. No one could look on the poor little group of exiles, so shamefully treated by their former neighbors, without cursing the heartless wretches who thus waged a merciless war upon the helpless women and children. —*Cleveland Herald*, 14th.

ANOTHER REBEL OUTRAGE.

A Kentuckian Ten Days in Richmond Jail—A Nephew of Senator Crittenden in the same Cell—Their Brutal Treatment.

The Washington correspondent of the New York *World* relates the following instances of the barbarity with which the Virginia rebels treat all who do not give immediate and entire adherence to their traitorous projects:—

George G. Gaither, Esq., is a very talented lawyer of Bardstown, Ky., and during the administration of Buchanan held a government appointment in the patent office. He was formerly attached to the New Orleans *True Delta*, and has, I am informed, recently received an appointment under the present administration, for which his talents eminently fit him—interpreter in the Department of State.

He left this city the 17th of April, on his way to his native place. It was on this journey that he was arrested by the "vigilants" of Richmond, and after lying in jail ten days, with the felons of the city, fortunately escaped hanging, and arrived in this city last evening. The circumstances of the affair I have carefully obtained; they are vouched for, and are in every respect reliable.

On his safe arrival in Richmond Saturday afternoon, he took rooms at the Powhattan House. The weather was very warm, and after partaking of dinner at the hotel, he repaired to a barber's shop, where, to prepare himself better for the climate, he had his hair, which was quite long, cut short, and his beard shaven off. This so changed his appearance, that, on his return to the hotel, it was noticed and remarked upon. It probably originated suspicion, which subsequently caused his arrest and imprisonment.

The next morning he was awakened by a loud knocking at his door, which he opened, when two policemen entered the room. He desired to know their business, and was told that he had been pointed out as a suspicious person, and that they had come with orders to arrest and take him to the City Hall, where he would answer to the charges which might be preferred against him. They then, in a very authoritative manner, demanded the keys of his trunk.

"I wish to know, if you please, by what authority I am thus arrested in my room and this demand made?" was Mr. Gaither's inquiry, as he stood astonished before them.

"Never mind by what authority—your keys, and then come with us!"

The keys were given, and Mr. G. seized by the shoulder roughly, and conducted to the street. It was yet quite early in the morning, and but few were astir, so that only a small crowd followed the officers, who led him to the City Hall, and into the presence of the Mayor. Mr. G. here attempted to explain fully the circumstances of his arrival in Richmond, and commenced by announcing that he was a citizen of Kentucky. This the Mayor pronounced flatly, in his opinion, to be a lie. Mr. Gaither was closely guarded by several officers, and the Mayor immediately ordered the searching of his trunk for some evidence which might condemn him to a rope or tar and feathers. The trunk was produced, and emptied upon the floor. The very first thing which was noticed was the petition for an appointment which Mr. G. had presented to Mr. Lincoln.

"Ah," said the Mayor, examining it, "this will prove to be an important case!"

The search continued, and every article was ransacked, among them the private journal of Mr. Gaither. The result was that the prisoner was ordered to the city jail until the following morning. He was thrown in among all the vile persons arrested and imprisoned there on the various charges which the criminal records of such a city as Richmond usually present. Mr. G. said to the officer that he had come to Richmond as a gentleman, and was not aware of having done anything which should merit for him such treatment as he had received, or the indignities of imprisonment in common with thieves, negroes, and pickpockets. "We have no *gentlemen* here, sir," responded an officer, sulkily.

"What, no gentlemen in Richmond?"

"I mean, sir, no gentlemen in jail."

[Mr. G. desires to have it said that a courtesy was extended to him in conducting him from the presence of the Mayor to the city jail. He was permitted to walk without handcuffs between two officers, while the other prisoners who were marched through the streets with him were in irons.]

The Mayor, in remitting him to jail, said he must have the Attorney-General's opinion on the documents which had been found in his baggage. The following morning, he was brought up again, and again remanded to jail; this time for a week. He inquired if there were no better accommodations there than those he saw. The keeper treated him very much as Roker did poor Pickwick in the Fleet—told him he could hire a room, if he wished, for $1 per day. Mr. G. desired to see the room, and was conducted into a most dreary apartment of the jail, with not so much as even a stool to furnish it.

"What am I to sleep on?" said Mr. G.

"You can sleep on a blanket."

"Is there no bed?"

"No; you can buy one if you want. I'll get it for you."

Mr. G. accepted the offer. The keeper's bill was thirteen dollars.

"What am I to eat?"

"O! you can send out to a restaurant, and buy what you like. I will get it for you."

"Will there be nothing provided for me here?"

"Yes; a piece of corn bread and some gruel, with a piece of meat in it, twice a day," replied the keeper, very carelessly.

Mr. G. was obliged to patronize the restaurant, at a most exorbitant list of charges, which probably lined the wily keeper's pocket.

The day after Mr. G. was placed in prison, another person, arrested on a similar charge, was brought in. This was James L. Crittenden, a nephew of Senator Crittenden, of "compromise" notoriety.

He too had been suspected of disloyalty. The cause was a remark made by him the day before, when he heard that several columbiads were being shipped from Richmond to fortify the heights of Arlington, and pour their hot shot in upon Washington. The remark was a brave one: "You must take care," said the young man, "how you talk of such things to me, or I shall deem it my duty to go up to Washington, and inform the authorities."

The story of his arrest and imprisonment, though another deep outrage, and full of thrilling detail, we must omit here. An uncle, who resided at Richmond, was prevented from interceding for the young man, with a threat that if he did, his whole family should be arrested and imprisoned. Young Crittenden, who, by the way, is a son of A. P. Crittenden, of San Francisco, was Mr. Gaither's roommate. Finally, a petition was signed by some of his friends for his release, and he was taken out to be conducted to the Governor, to whom the petition was to be presented. In a short time he came back, saying that the Governor was too drunk to hear it that day, and so the poor fellow remained in jail until the day before Mr. G.'s release. This few days' acquaintance will not probably be soon forgotten by either party.

When Mr. Gaither was finally brought up for trial, the Mayor inquired what counsel he proposed to employ. The prisoner replied that he was a lawyer, and should be his own counsel in the matter, at the same time desiring to know what charges were brought against him.

"Disloyalty and hostility to the sovereign State of Virginia," was the answer.

"I plead a general denial," responded Mr. G., (whose words I quote.) "In the first place, not being a citizen of that august Commonwealth, I owe no more fealty to it that I do to England. In the second place, my country is not at war with Virginia, and I have neither said nor done anything to indicate my hostility to the State. I have heard of no declaration of war, and there has been no proclamation of martial law in Richmond, yet I was arrested under the severity of martial law, and I am now arraigned before a civil tribunal of incompetent jurisdiction, to which I except. Moreover, my journal and private papers, found in my trunk, cannot be taken as testimony, and are no evidence against me. (The latter part of his journal was fortunately written in French and phonography—both a little puzzling to the savans of Richmond. The reporter of the Richmond *Examiner*, who was called upon to examine the documents, said he had never seen any such 'hieroglyphics' before.) I have never yet known any civilized country where, even in time of war, a neutral could not travel with a proper passport, or a safe conduct. As there is no diplomatic representative or consular agent in the District of Columbia for the State of Virginia, who can grant me a 'pass,' I naturally inferred my transit would not be interrupted."

The Mayor still insisted that Mr. G. was a man of very dangerous character, and must be remanded to jail.

Ten days, in all, he remained in the loathsome prison of Richmond, until finally an order from the Attorney-General came for his release. He was then escorted by two officers to a canal boat. They accompanied him as far as Lynchburg, where a "pass" was given him—*i. e.*, a permit to travel on the cars—and he was placed under the special eye of the conductor until the train arrived in Alexandria, whence he made his way in safety to this city, arriving last evening.

What a glorious motto has the Old Dominion, and how fully does she make it good—*Sic semper tyrannis!*

A SOUTHERN LETTER TO GEN. SCOTT.

Mrs. A. J. Donelson writes as follows to General Scott, through the Memphis *Bulletin*:—

MEMPHIS, April 29, 1861.

GENERAL SCOTT—*Dear Sir:* I address you not as a stranger. I was introduced to you in 1834, at the White House, by President Jackson, as "my niece, Miss Martin, of Tennessee." In 1835 I married Lewis Randolph, a grandson of President Jefferson. In 1838 he died; and in 1841 I married Major Andrew J. Donelson, whom you will remember. In 1851 I saw you frequently in Washington.

I write to you, General Scott, as the only man in the country who can arrest the civil war now begun. When it was announced that "General Scott had resigned," a thrill of joy ran through the South. Cannon told the glad tidings, and my heart said, "God bless him." Now it is said, "You will never fight under any other than the Star Spangled Banner." We have loved that banner. We have loved the Union. But the Union is gone, and forever, and I wept as each star left the field of blue, and set in night. Now we have another field of blue, and soon our fifteen stars will shine upon our sight. The stripes are all that is left of the banner you have borne victoriously in many battles.

Of *you* I may ask it, but not the usurper and his Abolition band, who now desecrate the honored place once filled by our Washington, Jefferson and Jackson—of General Scott I ask it—stop this war. Say to the North, you shall not shed your brothers' blood. The sons of Tennessee and the South have buckled on their armor, and are ready for the fight. We will fight this battle, every man, woman and child, to the last cent in our pockets, and the last drop of blood in our veins. The North boasts of its strength. If this boast be well founded, it were *cowardice* to destroy the weak. But "the race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong." God will defend us when our husbands and sons go forth to repel the invaders of our homes, our rights, and our soil. Then count the cost, Hero of Battles, and let after ages bless.

ELIZABETH A. DONELSON.

☞ Two Union men at Williamsburg, Covington County, Miss., suspected of being in correspondence with the Abolitionists, on the 31st ult., were tarred and feathered, and, after tying them up, consigned them to prison, where they were to receive twenty lashes, once a week, for two months. All this barbarity on a mere "suspicion"!

"DON'T IRRITATE THE SOUTH."

There is scarcely anything which occurs so prominently in the writings and speeches of the apologists for secession as the cant phrases, "you will irritate the South," "the South do not understand you," "you will drive off the Unionists," &c., &c., if you say or do thus and so.

"Irritate the South"! What claims has the South to exemption from irritation more than the North? We have had abundant cause, God knows, for irritation and madness in the ten thousand personal outrages which have been inflicted upon our unoffending citizens: yet no one proposes to modify any measures of State or general policy on the ground that one course or another might tend to "irritate" the North. Oh, no! The North is all right and loyal any way, but the South must be placated by the suppression of all sentiments of loyalty and freedom of expression, for fear that they may be "irritated" by the utterance of a desire on the part of the O. S. General Assembly that the Union should be perpetuated, and to that end its ministers and laymen should labor! *Oh, tempores! Oh, mores!* Patriot armies, rallied in defence of the National Capital, must march on eggs across a disloyal State, lest its "proud and chivalrous people" shall be "irritated" by the tread of a "foreign" force. The prayers of the Church must be stifled, and the ear of Jehovah insulted, lest the cries of his people to Him in their hour of trial shall "irritate" the South!

And so the North and the Government did really proceed as softly as though they were treading on eggs, lest they might irritate and drive off into secession the Border States. Every effort was made to conciliate them; forbearance seemed to approach reprehensible indulgence, while at the same time the pretended sensitive Border State Union men were plotting treason; the irritated chivalry were coolly maintaining an effectual protection to the open and undisguised rebels engaged in actual war upon the country. Every effort of peace, every act or position of persuasion, kindness, delicacy or forbearance, was taken advantage of by secret preparations to capture or destroy all the defences of the nation, and seize upon its arms and munitions, vessels and fortresses, which plans were executed by stealth, while the false cry of patriotism and love for the Union, coupled with expressions of dread of their irritability, were upon their lips. Beseeching the Government and people of the North to stay their hands, lest the breach should be widened to a remediless extent, and at the same time urging on the commission of the foul deeds which have disgraced the Southern name forever.

Let us hear no more of Southern irritability. It is all a sham, as is that Southern chivalry, which glories in tarring and feathering innocent women and helpless youths.

The nation has purchased Southern honor, chivalry, sensitiveness, and all that sort of gaseous compounds, at a high price. It is quite time that they be retired from the market.—*Milwaukee Free Democrat.*

LAST WORDS OF SENATOR DOUGLAS FOR THE UNION.

Senator Douglas and wife reached Chicago on their return from Washington on the evening of the 1st day of May, and were met at the depot by an immense assemblage of citizens of all parties, who insisted on escorting Mr. Douglas in procession to the great Wigwam, which was already packed with ten thousand persons. Room having been made for the admission of Mr. Douglas, he was addressed by Thomas B. Bryan, in behalf of Chicago, in brief but eloquent terms. When the cheering had subsided, Mr. Douglas spoke as follows:—

MR. CHAIRMAN,—I thank you for the kind terms in which you have been pleased to welcome me. I thank the committee and citizens of Chicago for this grand and imposing reception. I beg you to believe that I will not do you nor myself the injustice to believe this magnificent ovation is personal homage to myself. I rejoice to know that it expresses your devotion to the Constitution, the Union, the flag of our country. [Cheers.]

I will not conceal gratification at the uncontrovertible test this vast audience presents—that what political differences or party questions may have divided us, yet you all had a conviction that when the country should be in danger, my loyalty could be relied on. That the present danger is imminent, no man can conceal. If war must come—if the bayonet must be used to maintain the Constitution—I can say before God my conscience is clean. I have struggled long for a peaceful solution of the difficulty. I have not only tendered those States what was theirs of right, but I have gone to the very extreme of magnanimity.

The return we receive is War, armies marched upon our Capital, obstructions and dangers to our navigation, letters of marque to invite pirates to prey upon our commerce, a concerted movement to blot out the United States of America from the map of the globe. The question is, are we to maintain the country of our fathers, or allow it to be stricken down by those who, when they can no longer govern, threaten to destroy.

What cause, what excuse do Disunionists give us for breaking up the best Government on which the sun of heaven ever shed its rays? They are dissatisfied with the result of a presidential election. Did they never get beaten before? Are we to resort to the sword when we get defeated at the ballot-box. I understand it that the voice of the people expressed in the mode appointed by the Constitution must command the obedience of every citizen. They assume on the election of a particular candidate that their rights are not safe in the Union. What evidence do they present of this? I defy any man to show any act on which it is based. What act has been omitted to be done? I appeal to these assembled thousands that so far as the constitutional rights of the Souther States, I will say the constitutional rights of slaveholders are concerned, nothing has been done, and nothing has been omitted, of which they can complain.

There has never been a time from the day that Washington was inaugurated first President of these United States, when the rights of the Southern States stood firmer under the laws of the land, than they do now; there never was a time when they had not as good a cause for Disunion as they have to-day. What good cause have they now, that has not existed under every Administration?

If they say the Territorial question—now, for the first time, there is no act of Congress prohibiting Slavery anywhere. If it be the non-enforcement of the laws, the only complaints that I have heard have been of the vigorous and faithful fulfillment of the Fugitive Slave Law. Then what reason have they?

The Slavery question is a mere excuse. The election of Lincoln is a mere pretext. The present Secession movement is the result of an enormous conspiracy formed more than a year since, formed by leaders in the Southern Confederacy more than twelve months ago.

They use the Slavery question as a means to aid the accomplishment of their ends. They desired the election of a Northern candidate, by a sectional vote, in order to show that the two sections cannot live together. When the history of the two years from the Lecompton charter down to the Presidential election shall be written, it will be shown that the scheme was deliberately made to break up this Union.

They desired a Northern Republican to be elected by a purely Northern vote, and then assign this fact as a reason why the sections may not longer live together. If the Disunion candidate in the late Presidential contest had carried the United South, their scheme was, the Northern candidate successful, to seize the Capital last Spring, and by a United South and divided North, hold it. That scheme was defeated in the defeat of the Disunion candidate in several of the Southern States.

But this is no time for a detail of causes. The conspiracy is now known. Armies have been raised, war is levied to accomplish it. There are only two sides to the question. Every man must be for the United States or against it. There can be no neutrals in this war; *only patriots—or traitors.*

Thank God, Illinois is not divided on this question. [Cheers.] I know they expected to present a united South against a divided North. They hoped in the Northern States, party questions would bring civil war between Democrats and Republicans, when the South would step up with her cohorts, aid one party to conquer the other, and then make easy prey of victors. Their scheme was carnage and civil war in the North.

There is but one way to defeat this. In Illinois it is being so defeated by closing up the ranks. War will thus be prevented on our own soil. While there was a hope of peace, I was ready for any reasonable sacrifice or compromise to maintain it. But when the question comes of war in the cotton-fields of the South or the corn-fields of Illinois, I say the farther off the better.

We cannot close our eyes to the sad and solemn fact that war does exist. The Government must be maintained, its enemies overthrown, and the more stupendous our preparations, the less the bloodshed, and the shorter the struggle. But we must remember certain restraints on our action even in time of war. We are a Christian people, and the war must be prosecuted in a manner recognized by Christian nations.

We must not invade Constitutional rights. The innocent must not suffer, nor women and children be the victims. Savages must not be let loose. But while I sanction no war on the rights of others, I will implore my countrymen not to lay down their arms until our own rights are recognized. [Cheers.]

The Constitution and its guarantees are our birthright, and I am ready to enforce that inalienable right to the last extent. We cannot recognize Secession. Recognize it once, and you have not only dissolved government, but you have destroyed social order, upturned the foundations of society. You have inaugurated anarchy in its worst form, and will shortly experience all the horrors of the French Revolution.

Then we have a solemn duty—to maintain the Government. The greater our unanimity, the speedier the day of peace. We have prejudices to overcome from the few short months since of a fierce party contest. Yet these must be allayed. Let us lay aside all criminations and recriminations as to the origin of these difficulties. When we shall have again a country with the United States flag floating over it, and respected on every inch of American soil, it will then be time enough to ask who and what brought all this upon us.

I have said more than I intended to say. [Cries of "go on."] It is a sad task to discuss questions so fearful as civil war, but sad as it is, bloody and disastrous as I expect it will be, I express it as my conviction before God, that it is the duty of every American citizen to rally round the flag of his country.

I thank you again for this magnificent demonstration. By it you show you have laid aside party strife. Illinois has a proud position. United, firm, determined never to permit the Government to be destroyed. [Prolonged cheering.]

At the close of his address, nine cheers were given to Mr. Douglas, who was escorted to his hotel by the Committee.

"CONTRABAND" NEGROES.

We have insisted that the War for the Union should not be perverted from its one avowed, legitimate, essential purpose into a crusade against Slavery. If it should be, the zeal of many would be cooled, while thousands who are to-day for the Union would be driven over to the side of its adversaries. Good faith toward allies and compatriots is a primary dictate of honorable warfare, and whoever strikes for the Union may rest assured that the contest which has been forced upon the loyalty and patriotism of the country by armed treason, shall be prosecuted to the end with honesty of purpose and singleness of aim.

And, while such is the case, it is but naked justice to insist that, as the war is not to be turned aside from its declared purpose to overthrow Slavery, so the arm of the Nation shall not be shortened in order to shield and screen Slavery. The great duty of maintaining and vindicating the Federal authority against the machinations and the arms of treason must not be feebly, heartlessly performed, because Slavery might suffer by a vigorous and fearless fidelity. If Slavery should ever plant herself in the path on which the nation is advancing against its traitorous enemies, and say, "Your life or mine!" the prompt response of the Nation must be, "Yours, then; not mine!" And meantime the Nation must confront and pursue its foes without asking or considering whether Slavery is or is not likely to commit suicide by arraying itself in deadly strife against the Union.

It is no part of the business of the armed defenders of the Union to catch runaway negroes. The military have nothing to do with that service, except when the execution of the laws is resisted by a formidable force. Still, we think the commanders of the Union forces, in loyal portions of the Slave States, have done right in publicly assuring the deceived and alarmed inhabitants that they shall be protected in all their legal rights, that servile insurrection shall be repressed, and that the escape of their slaves shall not be encouraged. Such assurances have been given to the people of loyal States and communities alone, and in our judgment have been properly given. Their extension to rebel communities in the presence of rebel armies would be quite another matter.

As our armies penetrate Virginia, they move among a white population who have been systematically lied into a state of frenzied hostility to the Union and all who stand by it. The outspoken Unionists of Eastern Virginia have been hunted out as though they were mad dogs. The few who secretly cherish a love for the old flag and faith dare not give our advancing columns a word of information, fearing that any "aid and comfort" they might afford to the Union armies would cost them their property and their lives. Clouds of Secession cavalry will envelop our moving regiments, cutting off scouts and preventing observation beyond the range of our rifles. Cowardly guerrillas will lurk in every thicket and lie in wait behind fences, whence they can easily run to cover. Masked batteries, ambuscades, and pitfalls will surprise the patriots wherever the lay of the land suggests them. If, then, we are to repel information by the way from those competent to afford it, we might as well give up the contest.

But no commander who means to succeed will do anything of the sort. Persons qualified to give warning of the enemy's snares and dead-falls, his numbers, marches, and positions, will always be welcome at head-quarters, no matter of what color or condition they may be. Not what they are, but what they know, will be the main consideration. And if any of them should be qualified to act as guides through intricate, perilous passes, they will be so much the more welcome.

"But what shall our commanders *do* with these fugitives?" is still asked. We answer, *As* fugitives, do nothing. Use them so far as they can be made useful, pay them fairly for their services, and then dismiss them to shift for themselves. The fact that some of them may be claimed as chattels by rebels, is no concern of ours. Those rebels may have a plausible claim on Jeff. Davis to catch their fugitive chattels, but they certainly have none on the Nation they have abjured, the government they are trying to subvert. Let them catch their own negroes, if they pretend to have any, while we attend simply and solely to putting down the rebellion.

Such we hold to be the obvious, natural, easy solution of the question which has been raised with regard to fugitives who may approach and seek to enter the lines of the Federal forces in Virginia and other craters of rebellion. We cannot repel them, for they may be able to give information whereof our commanders are in imminent need. We cannot make such extensive and profitable use of them as our enemies do in digging trenches, filling sandbags, &c., since negro-driving is a business to which very few of our men are acoustomed, and our soldiers are neither ashamed nor unable to wield the pick and spade in constructing their own defences. We cannot load down our moving columns with the care of them, except in so far as they may be made useful as guides, cooks, &c., and to that extent they should be substituted and paid like other people. But whether there are or are not rebels who claim to be the owners of these persons is no concern of ours, and should not be at all considered nor investigated. Our commanders advancing in the face of a desperate enemy through a hostile country will have quite enough on hand, without plunging into such recondite and irrelevant speculations. Let them mind their own business.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

LIGHT WANTED HERE.

PHILADELPHIA, Wednesday, June 12, 1861.

The time was that when light was called for, it came. But the command was uttered by Omnipotence. Our own calls, though constant and loud, are puny; yet not more so than the answer. In fact, we get nothing. We are wholly in the dark. We do not understand this campaign. It may be that it is better for the country that we are thus kept in ignorance. We have put certain men in power to do the very things they are now presumed to be doing; hence it is their business, not ours. Yet we are itching to be admitted behind the curtain. One thing in particular we want to know. How is it that every Major-General who ventilates himself in a proclamation on taking up the line of march to the enemy's country, comes forth with superserviceable zeal with a pledge that "insurrection shall be put down with an iron hand;" or as General Patterson more specifically says, "at once to suppress *servile* insurrection." We want to know from whom these gentlemen received their orders to promise the doing of this dirty work for the miserable wretches whose treason has broken up the foundations of business among twenty millions of people who need no such work done for them. Butler began these pledges in Maryland, then McClelland followed him in Virginia, and now comes Patterson in Pennsylvania. It is true that all Patterson's antecedents are of the cotton stripe, for thence came his pile. This may account for him, but not for the others. How many other dirt-eating proclamations of the same abominable character are we to have—for I fear, in spite of all the infamies heaped upon us, that the dirt-eaters are not all dead yet. You may say that nobody's hurt, but assuredly somebody's to blame for this. The plain English of the matter is that we don't like it. Now let us have a fair understanding about this matter. We don't claim that the object of the North, in pouring out its wealth of men and money as it has done, was any other than that of maintaining the Government. Indeed we go further—it did not go to war to abolish slavery. But—and we call heaven to witness it—we did not take up arms to keep it alive. Now mark the difference, for it is a vital one. Hence, having ourselves so clear an understanding of the question, we want to know why our Major-Generals are less enlightened. Their early eagerness to take up clubs to perpetuate slavery is what we cannot understand. Is it of their own motion, or is it inspiration from a higher quarter, or is it all buncombe? It excites attention; it occasions profound grief; it is a rank offence to the people of Pennsylvania. We say let slavery take care of itself. We raised troops to put down an insurrection of Rebels with *white* skins, not to heap fresh oppression on a race infinitely more deserving of freedom than they. The first, rebels against the best government—the last, only against the worst. Our army must have more sense than its Generals.—*Correspondent of N. Y. Tribune.*

WIPE IT FROM THE FACE OF THE EARTH. A correspondent of the New York *World*, writing from Camp Defiance at Cairo, Ill., says:—

"The feeling is daily gaining ground here that this war can only end in the utter extermination of African slavery. Men say it is an institution that we have not meddled with. It has not belonged to us, but to certain of the States. We have been content to let it alone. If it is right, well; if not, it is not ours, and we are not responsible for the wrong. True, it has been a disgrace to a nation boasting its unequalled liberty. It has enabled a minority to control the affairs of the nation. It has closed some of the fairest portions of American territory to American citizens. It has taken away the protection to American citizens upon American soil that their flag commands for them in foreign countries. It has rendered the election at the ballot-box a meaningless farce, and now it is being made the instrument to complete the destruction of democratic institutions; and, *in God's name, let us wipe it from the face of the earth.*"

SPEECH OF GEORGE THOMPSON, ESQ. ON THE AMERICAN CRISIS.

The annual demonstration in connection with the Leeds (Eng.) Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society, took place in the Music Hall, on the 28th May, and there was a numerous and very respectable attendance. The Mayor (James Kitson, Esq.) presided, and amongst the gentlemen present were the Rev. Dr. Cheever, of New York; the Revs. Messrs. Troy, Kinnaird, and Davidson, gentlemen of color, from Canada West; and George Thompson, Esq., London. After speeches from Rev. F. Edwards and Mr. Kinnaird—

Geo. Thompson, Esq., was called upon to address the meeting, and was warmly received. After referring to the fact mentioned by the Mayor, that thirty years had elapsed since he first uplifted his voice before a Leeds audience in the same cause as that which had collected them together, he observed that the resolution he had to propose referred to the war in America—asked them to deplore the evils with which it would be inevitably attended—but at the same time to express their earnest hope, and if proof to warrant it could be furnished, their confident belief, that the issue of this war would be the entire and everlasting overthrow of slavery in America. (Applause.) War was an unmixed evil; and nothing could be more affecting, more deplorable, more calculated to fill them with anguish, than the present aspect of things in the United States of America. From the Potomac to the Rio Grande, from the Atlantic to the base of the Alleghany Mountains, everything was at present tending to a common object, and that object was murder. The war was not commenced to resist an invading force, nor to conquer some foreign adversary; it was a domestic war, an internecine war, an unnatural war, a fratricidal war, a rebel war. (Hear, hear.) The people of the United States were one people, the thirty-four States having blended themselves together, sinking their State differences in common nationality, and the sovereignty of the States being entrusted to the President and to the representatives of the people in Congress. The evils of war were certain. In magnitude, they were not to be grasped; no arithmetic could count the pecuniary loss, and no stretch of mind could conceive the injury that would be done to the country in a moral point of view. In England, they were not called upon to furnish their sons for the war, but it might bring upon them other calamities. There was a calamity impending over this country than which, war excluded, nothing could be of a more fearful character. A famine of cotton would be infinitely worse than a famine of bread; for if the harvest were smitten by blight, or the earth were to remain sterile by reason of drought, a supply of food might be obtained from other countries to which God had granted a superfluity; but if they experienced a famine of cotton, that was a calamity for which there was no remedy. In that case, there would be stagnation, and idleness, and hunger, and discontent, and dissatisfaction, and it might be revolution.

As an illustration of the importance of this subject, he stated that it was estimated that there were three millions of persons in this country directly engaged in the manufacture of cotton, and, taking their wages at the low average of 10s. per week, the sum of a million and a half sterling was distributed amongst them weekly, or between 78 and 80 millions during the year; and if they considered the vast number of people employed indirectly in the trade, they would find that the inference was inevitable, that a want of cotton would precipitate this country into universal bankruptcy, and would be the greatest calamity that could possibly overtake us. (Hear, hear.) He asked their attention, therefore, to this question as one of the deepest interest; and, whatever the issue of the war, he hoped that this country would learn a lesson, improving which she would never again be dependent, as she had been, upon the United States for her supply of cotton. (Hear, hear.) The cause of the war was simply and solely slavery. The North was just as much answerable for the present state of things as the South; for it was the recreancy of the North to principle in the framing of the Constitution that allowed slavery to become incorporated with their Union at all. There was the great mistake; and during the seventy years that had passed since, until about eight years ago, the North was a consenting party to all the iniquities of the South. The North, however, had at last awakened to a sense of the impending danger. The city of New York was now a city of flags, and the whole of the business was suspended, except such as was necessary for the purposes of war. But don't let them look upon the men of the North marshalling their hosts as arrayed against slavery itself. Thousands and hundreds of thousands would even now compromise with the South, if the latter would acknowledge its error, and return into the bosom of the Union, and would not only allow the South still to retain its slaves, but also pass even more stringent laws for the rendition of the fugitive, in the event of his escaping.

As soon as the Abolition movement had attained the point at which it was absolutely necessary that it should be recognized, the South called upon the North to put it down. The South called for mobs, and the North mobbed the Abolitionists; they asked for lynching, and the North mob-lynched the Abolitionists; and in the streets of Boston, a mob of 5,000 gentlemen of property and standing mobbed a few ladies who had met together to assist in improving the intellectual condition of the slave. From that time until very recently, there had been no concession which the South had demanded, however humiliating and insulting to the intelligence and virtue and religion of the North, which the latter had not granted; and the Southern States never would have taken the step they had done, if it had not been for the language of the press and pulpit, and the general sentiment of the Northern States favorable to upholding the capricious demands of the South. (Hear, hear.)

What were the present state and prospects of this great convulsion? Of the ultimate success of the North over the South, there could be no doubt. (Cheers.) The population of the Southern States, whether slaves or not, was 12,000,000, of which the free population was 8,000,000, and the slave population 4,000,000. The slaveholders were only some 350,000 amongst the 8,000,000; so that there were 31,000,000 of human beings plunged into fratricidal war for the exclusive benefit of 350,000 of the people of the country. For the last seventy years, the slaveholders had entirely controlled the national policy of the Union; and, at some length, Mr. Thompson explained how, by unity and determination not to support any candidate for the Presidential chair, they had been enabled to exercise almost supreme power in the executive. In the contest now going on, he proceeded, it should never enter into their calculation that the North would be the victim. The South was poor in its resources, the North was omnipotent and exhaustless; the South had no navy, the North could command any amount of naval power for the blockade of the Southern coasts, or for any other purpose; the South had no money, the money of the North was abundant, and the credit of the North unlimited. Mr. Russell, in his last published letter from the Southern States, declared that there were not more than 30,000 soldiers in South Carolina, and more than half of these would be inevitably required at home on the plantation to which they belonged. There were rumors of servile insurrections; there was not a State in the Union in which the slaves were not prepared to take advantage of what is occurring; and he did not believe that the South could command the resources which would enable her to keep the field for the next six months. (Hear, hear.) On the side of the North, however, there was perfect union. The highest enthusiasm and devotion were displayed, and the spirit of self-sacrifice was manifested in a way which the world had scarcely ever witnessed. All party names were dropped—Democrats shake hands with Whigs, and both shake hands with the Abolitionist. The churches were sending forth their best young men as soldiers, and from the church of H. Ward Beecher more than 150 young men had gone, and they intended to increase the number to 200. The Western States had offered 250,000 men; New York had already 100,000; and President Lincoln could at this moment call into the field half-a-million men, besides 2,000,000 more who were ready if they were wanted. (Applause.)

The abolition of slavery was not amongst the declared objects of this war; and, inasmuch as it was not, he should feel little interest in it if he did not confidently believe that what was not declared would, nevertheless, be attained. But if it did not take an anti-slavery direction, and lead to the extinction forever of that which was the cause of all the disquiet, and discord, and contention, and misunderstanding, and quarrel that had ever occurred between the States—if it ended without the national arm tearing up by the roots this upas tree of slavery, and brandishing it in triumph over the heads of the tyrants, then he should say that America, and the North especially, was utterly unworthy of the sympathy, and still less of the admiration of the country. (Cheers.)

The prospects that the war would take an abolition turn, he thought, were good. A great many in the North, who were not Abolitionists before, had been made so by the treatment recently received at the hands of the South; and the most influential inhabitants and the principal leading journals were beginning to take a right view of the question. (Hear, hear.) The colored men of the United States, too, were not idle, and there was scarcely one of them who had not friends and relatives in the South. Would such of those as were fighting men go forward to support the honor of the star-spangled flag, or to maintain the honor of the Union? Not at all. They would watch till the conflagration spread and surrounded the Slave States, and then, amidst the smoke, and din, and blaze of war, each man would seize the object of his love, and pluck it as a brand from the burning. (Applause.) Take his word for it, they would hear of the colored people in this war. (Hear, hear.) They were ready, and would not be wanting in the hour of need. In Philadelphia alone there were 5,000 ready, and they had not been idle nor unobservant in any of the other towns in which they mostly resided. The fugitive slaves in Canada were also waiting for their share in the great work which was to be done. They would go to the war, and they would not go for nothing. (Hear, hear.) And, finally, there were the slaves themselves, whom they should certainly not leave out of sight in considering this question. (Hear, hear.)

In what he had said, he hoped he should not be understood to look with pleasure or complacence on war; but, inasmuch as he knew that men settled their affairs by war,—that great events had been evolved from war,—and that there is One who sits above the smoke of the battle, working out His own designs, and who causes the wrath of man to praise Him, and the despotism, and infatuation, and madness of tyrants to prepare the very liberty which they would withhold from mankind—he believed that, in a great clash and contest like this, they might be permitted to wish God speed to those who fight for the maintenance of justice, the establishment of liberty, and the happiness of the whole human race. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Thompson concluded by moving the following resolution:—

"That, however much we may deplore the fatal consequences which must necessarily accompany the civil war which has already broken out in the United States, we cannot but rejoice in the hope that it will result in the liberation of the slave, and would therefore encourage the American Abolitionists to secure this opportunity of impressing upon the American people and Government the necessity of removing the curse of slavery from their midst, and thus effectually cut off the source of the evils which are now multiplying around them."

Mr. Thompson was followed by Rev. Dr. Cheever, in an earnest and highly effective speech, such as was needed for British enlightenment at this crisis.

NO SHRINKING.

We have said that the purpose of the war is to maintain the power and authority of the Government. To do this, no sacrifice is too great, except the sacrifice of National integrity and honor; and we fondly hope and firmly believe, that all necessary measures to attain that end will be adopted. We must not complain if it requires sacrifice on our part to maintain what it cost the best heart's blood of the Revolution to establish. Nor must we shrink from our plain duty on account of past political associations, or considerations of merely partizan expediency. If, to secure permanent and prosperous peace, it becomes necessary to abolish the horrible system of slavery, by force and arms, let it be done. Civil war is a dreadful thing; we are in a fair way to know something of its attendant horrors; but if the liberty of four millions now held in chains at the South should be a result of the worst that now seems at all likely to happen, it would be cheaply purchased indeed. But the forcible liberation of the slave would be a desperate remedy for the present trouble; and it is a desperate disease that requires the application of such remedies. We should prefer to have it left to the slower but more peaceful operation of the causes hitherto operating to extinguish it, rather than to incur the heavy cost and momentous risk of civil war. But there was no choice. War was forced upon us. We must meet the war as best we may, and, if the best way to permanent peace be over the prostrate form of dethroned Slavery, we must not shrink from the task of the destruction of its overshadowing despotism.

Whatever may have hitherto been the feelings or politics of the men who go forth to fight the battles of their country, or whatever result the war may furnish, it is not at all likely they will come back with much liking for slavery. They will fight against it, in fighting against its most zealous partizans. They will learn to hate it from its being the source of the Great Treason that now lifts its threatening head, and bares its snake-like fangs, to strike the government our people idolize.

So this war, let it end as it may, will unquestionably result in hastening the downfall of slavery. For that, let us be thankful; and for the end that it may result in establishing the nation on a firmer foundation than ever, let us spare no labor and hesitate at no sacrifice.—*Delhi Republican.*

HOPES AND FEARS.

Extract of a Private Letter.

What do you think of the times? I am often despondent, still more often I am impatient to a point of fiery indignation, and I am seldom very hopeful. I told our noble friend Wendell that I though he began to hurrah long before we could see our way out of the wood. It is evident that the Government *mean* no good to the slave. The rush of events may overwhelm them, and carry them whither they would not. My only trust is in the blind madness of Jeff. Davis and his coadjutors. What a figure the United States make, sending back poor trembling slaves for their masters to cut up, by way of example! *Can* a just God give prosperity to a nation that does such things? Every such incident cuts through my heart like the thrust of a knife. I *want* to love and honor the flag of my country; but in view of these cruel wrongs, over which it floats in such vain-glorious selfishness, my love of country finds vent only in tears. Even those slaves now allowed to remain in Fort Monroe are to be protected by the United States only *so long* as their masters are in rebellion against the government. God grant they may *all* rebel, and *remain* in rebellion, and practise upon *us* the barbarism of slavery, till we are goaded to do, from policy and revenge, what we ought to do from justice and humanity! Alas, that it could not have been done in a wiser and better way!

We of the North have been so persistently selfish, we have been so deaf to all warnings and admonitions of the Lord, that it must needs be we should suffer for it. And are we not punished for our misdeeds in having such a man as Wm. H. Seward the advising power of the government? How long will men continue to dignify with the name of statesmanship the mere temporary expedients of selfish policy? If I were to make a dictionary, I would define statesman, as generally understood, to be a man who expends his ingenuity in petty stratagems to circumvent God. Ah, it is more than we deserve, to have among our politicians one man so nobly true to freedom as Charles Sumner! How the names of our temporizers will pale before his, in the impartial light of history! How I abhor all the turning and twisting tribe! How I hate all the snakes of the age! Yours, truly,

L. MARIA CHILD.

Emancipation Must Come. In all quarters this is looked to as a future "military necessity." A grave writer in the *Independent* says: "The business community have made up their minds to put this matter (slavery) beyond all possibility of disturbing us again, and this can only be done by destroying slavery as a system. Without doing that, the war might be protracted ten years; with that it could be finished in two. *Emancipation must come.*" This is fast becoming the tone of the religious and secular press—of the pulpit and the camp—of commercial and military men—of Whigs, Democrats, and Republicans. As slavery supplied the soil and the seeds of the rebellion, it must be rooted up by a law of justice and of necessity.

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JUNE 28, 1861.

ANTI-SLAVERY CELEBRATION OF THE FOURTH OF JULY.

The usual Anti-Slavery Celebration of Independence Day, in mass meeting, will be held in the beautiful and commodious Grove at FRAMINGHAM, on THURSDAY, July 4th, under the direction of the Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. Hitherto, it has never failed to secure a multitudinous gathering of the truest friends of universal liberty, from various parts of the Commonwealth; and the circumstances of the times are such as to warrant the expectation, that the number will be largely augmented at the approaching anniversary.

A most cordial invitation to be present is extended to all who love freedom for those who are unjustly deprived of it, as well as for themselves; who desire to witness the immediate and utter overthrow of that hideous slave system, which has so long consigned to hopeless servitude millions of unoffending men, women and children, and out of which all our national divisions and troubles proceed, as deadly waters from a poisoned fountain; and whose hope is to see in the star-spangled banner, ere the present civil conflict terminate, the symbol of unconditional emancipation from ocean to ocean.

☞ Trains will run from Boston, Worcester, Millbury, Milford and Northboro', as follows:

Leave Boston at 9.15, A. M., and Worcester at 9.40, A. M., stopping at way Stations; Millbury (Regular Train): Milford, 7.10, or 9.40; Northboro' at 7, or 9.40.

Fares as follows:—

Boston, to the Grove and back, } 70 cents for adults,
Worcester, " " } 35 " children.
Millbury, " "

Milford, Milford Branch, Northboro', Marlboro', Natick, Needham, Grantville, Ashland, Cordaville, Southboro', and Westboro', to Grove and back, 50 cents for adults, 25 cents for children.

Grafton, to the Grove and back, adults 60 cents, children 30 cents.

Returning, leave the Grove at 5.45, P. M. Admission fee to the enclosure of the Grove for those *not* coming by the cars, adults 10 cents, children 5 cents. Those who come by R. R. admitted free.

The House at the Grove will be open for Refreshments. In case of rain, the meeting will be held at Waverley Hall, opposite the railroad depot at South Framingham.

Among the speakers expected are WENDELL PHILLIPS, WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDMUND QUINCY, T. W. HIGGINSON, Rev. JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE, SAMUEL MAY, Jr., H. C. WRIGHT, A. T. FOSS, E. H. HEYWOOD, Rev. J. SELLA MARTIN, and others.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON,
SAMUEL MAY, Jr.,
HENRY O. STONE,
CHARLES A. HOVEY,
E. H. HEYWOOD,
GEORGE W. STACY, } *Committee of Arrangements.*

☞ GRAND ANTI-SLAVERY PIC-NIC IN ROCHESTER, N. Y.—The friends of freedom in Western New York are invited to join the Abolitionists of Rochester and vicinity in celebrating the eighty-fifth anniversary of American Independence, on the fourth of July next.

Addresses will be delivered by PARKER PILLSBURY, FREDERICK DOUGLASS, GILES B. STEBBINS, and others.

The meeting will be held in GREGORY'S GROVE, one mile from the Arcade, at the head of South Avenue.

Carriages will be in waiting at the Depots, on the arrival of all the trains between 9 and 11 o'clock, A. M. The speaking will commence at 11 o'clock, A. M., and 3, P. M.

☞ Let there be a large gathering—all remembering to bring with them "*their basket and their store,*" that the occasion may be made eminently social as well as instructive.

THE ABOLITIONISTS AND THE WAR.

In reviewing, in our last number, an editorial article on "The War in America" in the London *Herald of Peace* for June, we quoted its extraordinary allegations against the American Abolitionists, that "they are plunging into the war spirit with a headlong violence which almost leaves all competitors behind"—that they have abandoned their pacific moral agitation, and are "hounding on their countrymen to mutual slaughter"—that they are acting "on the immoral and unchristian axiom that, in order to punish or to destroy one crime, we are at liberty to commit another"—&c., &c. For thirty years, it seems, they have inflexibly met every temptation to swerve a hair's breadth from the path of rectitude, and have allowed no violence done to themselves to induce them to resort to carnal weapons; but now, without even a plausible excuse for so doing, in the judgment of their London accuser, they reveal themselves to be governed by the most rancorous feelings, and foremost in the disposition to wage war against the South! If this is true, it is the strangest and saddest transformation of moral character upon the record of the nineteenth century. But it is not true: it is a slanderous impeachment. They stand precisely where they have always stood; their measures and aims are as pacific as at the beginning; their appeals are still to the hearts and consciences of their fellow-countrymen; their reliance is still upon the faithful utterance and application of the truth. That, as between the Southern conspirators who are seeking to acquire universal and absolute sway over the country, in order to legalize and protect slavery everywhere, and the government that is struggling to maintain whatever of freedom has come down to us from the revolution of 1776, they are with the government in sympathy, is true; but how is this a repudiation of their principles, or a radical change in their method of advocating the Anti-Slavery cause?

In the first place, the assumption that the Abolitionists are non-resistants is entirely erroneous. Not one in a hundred of them has ever endorsed or pretended to act upon the principle of non-resistance. It is true, the American Anti-Slavery Society pledged itself at its formation to give no countenance to violence and bloodshed *in the prosecution of its work as an organization;* and that pledge it has carried out to the letter up to the present hour. But, beyond its own official acts, it leaves its members free to decide for themselves to what extent they shall stand by the government, especially when its overthrow is menaced by that very Slave Power which the Society was formed to extirpate. To deny them this right would lead at once to the dissolution of the Society. As an association, their pledge to prosecute their work by moral and peaceful instrumentalities is one thing: their obligations and duties as citizens, toward the government, quite another.

"Let not the friends of the slave," says the *Herald of Peace,* "on this side of the water, be deceived. This is not an anti-slavery war. The great bulk of the men who are now swelling the war-cry, and rushing into the ranks to fight, are men who despise the 'nigger' and hate Abolitionists as cordially as ever." But this does not tally with a previous statement in the same article—viz.: that "Northern orators and journalists threaten wholesale confiscation of Southern property, advise setting free the Southern slaves, and raising them against the Southern rebels"—and, again, "that, infinite as is the iniquity of slavery, *the attempt to abolish it by war* is only an attempt to cast out devils by Beelzebub, the prince of devils." Thus, our London censor is incensed because the object of the war is not the abolition of slavery; and still more incensed because that result is aimed at! Now, we admit there are some very paradoxical features presented by the war itself; nevertheless, we think Mr. Phillips, in his speech at Music Hall, rightly characterized it when he said—

"The noise and dust of the conflict may hide the real question at issue. Europe may think, some of us may, that we are fighting for forms and parchments, for sovereignty and a flag. But really, the war is one of opinions: it is Civilization against Barbarism: it is Freedom against Slavery. The cannon shot against Fort Sumter was the yell of pirates against the Declaration of Independence: the war-cry of the North is its echo. The South, defying Christianity, clutches its victim. The North offers its wealth and blood in glad atonement for the selfishness of seventy years. The result is as sure as the throne of God."

We know that the aim of the government is to restore the Union as originally formed; but it is beyond its power to do this, because nothing will satisfy the South but a full and hearty compliance with all its nefarious demands. As the case now stands, eleven of the slave States have dissolved their connection with the Union, and formed an independent government which they are now fighting to maintain. One of two events, therefore, must speedily follow:—either slavery must be abolished throughout the South, under the war power, in which case the union of all the States on the basis of freedom will inevitably follow, and a permanent reconciliation be made; or the seceding States must be allowed to go their own way; and as that will be bringing the Canada line down to their very borders, the result must be the speedy overthrow of the slave system, by the impossibility of preventing a general exodus of their slave population, or a general uprising of the slaves, no longer to be put down by Northern bayonets.

[NOTE. In the haste of writing, last week, referring to the Crimean war, we said, "Unquestionably, Russia was entitled to sympathy and success," rather than the English and French Allies. We desire to cancel, or at least to qualify, that declaration. The case between the contending parties, relative to "the sick man," (Turkey,) and that *questio vexata,* the ever vacillating "balance of power," was too complicated to enable one, even at this distance, accurately to determine the relative amount of guilt incurred by the various contending parties.]

LETTER FROM GEORGE THOMPSON, ESQ.

TYNEMOUTH, Northumberland, England, June 7th, 1861.

MY DEAR GARRISON,—Yours of the 21st ultimo has within the present hour reached me at this place, where I am staying for a few days, going almost daily into Newcastle to consult with my anti-slavery friends there on the progress of the cause in America, and the means we may legitimately employ to promote it. This is a pleasant watering place, with a fine expanse of sea beach, a noble old abbey in ruins, a strong fortress, romantic cliffs, and charming walks through green fields and beside hedges fragrant with hawthorn.

I have been a deeply interested observer of late events on your side of the ocean, and have studied them with all the powers of reflection I can command. My talk is incessantly in reference to them, and I miss no opportunity of publicly addressing my countrymen upon them. I enclose you copies of reports made of my late speeches in London and Leeds, the tenor of which I trust you will approve. I have endeavored to make myself master of the constitutional argument, in relation to the doctrine of State rights and secession, which I am often called upon to debate.

I am extremely glad to find the views expressed in your letter before me so coincident with my own. I have pondered much and deeply upon the probable issues of the present war. I was occupied in writing all day yesterday upon the subject, and could not resist the conclusion, that the present struggle *must* end in the downfall of slavery. I dare say, if I had time to develop my process of reasoning, it would be found that our ratiocinations are alike. May God grant that our hopes may be realized!

To me it appears that, by the conduct of the South, the North is released for ever from the obligations imposed by the Constitution of '87. The despots of the South are *traitors in arms.* They have trampled the Constitution in the dust; they have disgraced the national flag; they are seeking the destruction of the North; they have reversed the Declaration of Independence; they have proclaimed the rightfulness of human slavery; they have inscribed upon the cornerstone of the atheistical edifice they seek to rear, "The black man is always, and for ever, the property of the white man." If these things be so, will the North spare the accursed domestic institution? Will the armies of New England and the free West return, before they have planted the flag of personal freedom side by side with that of the Union, and decreed that slavery is for ever abolished in every part of the national domain? God forbid!

I am not discouraged because the abolition of slavery is not one of the *declared* objects of the President in the struggle he has commenced. I am not discouraged because the thousands who are flocking to the Federal standard, while they shout, "The Union," "The Constitution," and "Our star-spangled banner," do not also shout, "Down with Slavery!" I am not discouraged because kiddapping has been permitted in Chicago, and General Butler has played so infamous a part in Maryland, (1) and slaves have been driven from Fort Pickens, and even Greeley has talked with "bated breath" on the subject of slavery, in recent articles in the *Tribune.* No! I have confidence in the inevitable tendency of events, and there resistless influence. The doom of slavery is sealed! Witness, the judicial blindness of the slaveholders! Witness, the madness that ever precedes destruction! Witness, the universal expectancy of a nation of slaves, waiting to be "born in a day"! Witness, the feverish excitement of the free colored population, who, when the hour strikes, and the conflagration rages, will have their part to play, and will enact it! The spirit of John Brown walks abroad! Being dead, he yet speaketh, and points with shadowy finger to Harper's Ferry and Charlestown! Witness, in every company of every regiment forming the vast army of volunteers, some few at least who have vowed to fight, not for the restoration of the Union alone, but for *a Union without slavery*—a Union of free men, of *all colors,* from Passamaquoddy Bay to the northern bank of the Rio Grande! Witness, the recent pregnant utterances of politicians, statesmen and editors, who deal with slavery as a gangrene that must be cut out! Witness, the altered tone of that recreant and guilty church, which, till the roar of Charleston cannon was heard, and the stars and stripes succumbed to the black flag of secession, hugged the men-stealers of the South to its bosom, and, while it could not fellowship the Church of the Puritans on account of its Abolitionism, could break sacramental bread with the traffickers in slaves and the souls of men!

Need I say, my faithful friend and brother, how fervently my heart returns thanks to God that we are permitted to see this day? Need I tell you that my spirit is always with you? If my own heart condemned me for infidelity to our early vows, I should be most miserable; but I can appeal to Him who knoweth all things, and say, Thou knowest how truly I have cherished, warm as when the flame was first kindled, my friendship and love for those with whom I labored—

"When first we saw the cloud arise,
Little as a human hand!"

Continue to trust me, and let me look forward with joyful anticipations to the day when I shall once more stand upon the soil from which I was banished by the demon of slavery, and gaze upon that vision beheld by the eye of your prophet and unequalled orator—the great, (and better still,) the good and gracious Phillips—"The Genius of Liberty on the banks of the Potomac, robed in light; four-and-thirty stars for her diadem, *broken fetters at her feet,* and an olive branch in her right hand." GEO. THOMPSON.

☞ We are gratified to find that, while there seems to be a wide-spread misconception in England as to the real merits of the conflict now going on this country, our eloquent coadjutor, Mr. THOMPSON, is clear-sighted and discriminating as usual. No man, probably, on that side of the Atlantic, is so well posted in regard to the slave question here, and to American affairs generally, as himself. Whatever paradoxical and offensive features are connected with the conflict, on the side of the government, he clearly perceives that, with the triumph of the Southern traitors, popular liberty will go to the dust—free speech, a free press, and free schools, become obsolete—and no hope of deliverance will be left the millions who are now clanking their chains upon the Southern plantations.

TYPE SETTING MACHINE.

We hail with pleasure every new invention which tends to elevate humanity, and it is with peculiar gratification that we record the progress recently made in setting type. The introduction of labor-saving machinery is a benefit to each individual and the whole community; it compels a higher cultivation of the mind, and brings those articles of taste and comfort which satisfy the finer faculties of our being within the reach of all. The true idea of labor-saving machinery is not to encourage laziness, but to enable us to accomplish more with the same amount of labor. And this is the practical result. The more a man accomplishes, the more he is stimulated, and thus develops his powers by surrounding himself with the means of cultivating them.

As we have toiled at the case of the compositor, we have often speculated upon the possibility of using machinery, and as often felt that it *could not be done,* yet with a lingering hope that at some time it might be. Our error was in failing to distinguish between the mental labor and that which is purely mechanical. To pick up type one after another until a word is formed, to insert a space, to go on from word to word until a line is formed, and even to "justify" the line, is a succession of mechanical acts directed by the mind. We have recently examined with much pleasure a machine invented by Charles W. Felt, which will set up type, and space and justify, under the guidance of the operator, whose will finds expression in a way much more simple and expeditious than by the old method.

The hand of the operator passes over a key-board like that of an ordinary piano, setting a type each time a key is touched, while now the printer is obliged to make at least two motions for each type set—one to pick up the type, and another to bring it to the "stick." The distance, too, which the hand must move with the machine, is much less than in hand-setting; and since the type are arranged in vertical lines, the possibility of *turning* is avoided. Each key represents a character or letter, and though there are but *forty* keys, this number suffices for an unlimited variety of characters; and by touching the keys successively, the stick is moved about under the columns of type, taking a type from the proper column, and then moving to another and another, taking a type from each till the line is full. When the line is nearly complete, a small bell is struck, which notifies the operator that as soon as the word or syllable is complete, the line must be moved out of the stick to be spaced and justified, and then moved on to a galley with or without leads, as may be desired. The work of spacing and justifying one line is performed while the next line is being set up; and since this work is performed by the automatic movements of the machine, which do not require the attention of the operator, this portion of the machine alone performs from twenty-five to thirty per cent. of the work, which is a sufficient gain to establish the value of the invention, if nothing more were accomplished.

This plan of spacing and justifying by machinery has seemed to most printers chimerical at first sight, and some of the keenest men in the profession have attempted to point out the fallacy, but invariably found themselves, and not the inventor, in the wrong. The subject of distributing, too, has seemed equally formidable, but this is disposed of in an instant by the remark that setting and distributing are, in a mechanical sense, precisely the same operations, only reversed; and this is so fully demonstrated in the machine that the same apparatus will set type if the shaft is turned in one direction, and distribute if turned in the other.

Thus it will be seen that the whole work is done by machinery ready for the press. The motive power is steam or the foot, which performs the mechanical work, while the intelligence is conveyed to the machine through the key-board as the readiest known means. The great aim is to convey as much intelligence through the machine as possible, in a given time, and it is curious to see in how many ways this may be done. The compositor at present uses but one hand to pick up type—holding the stick in the other; but, with a key-board, both hands may be used. Then, under certain circumstances, two letters may be taken at once, and this indication may be given by one foot, while the other foot may be employed to throw in the little pieces of steel which separate the words, preparatory to spacing, thus literally realizing the idea of setting type with both hands and both feet!

And, as if all this was not enough, the inventor has added another feature, which, from its beautiful simplicity and the great results it promises, is even more wonderful than all the rest. This is called the Register, and is the application of the Jacquard principle in weaving to the work of setting type. This Register consists of a narrow strip of card or paper, in which various holes are punched as the work of setting proceeds, and can be used to direct the machine in distributing, just as the cards in the loom insert the color necessary to make the figure desired. The matter for distributing is fed into the machine from an inclined galley, as corn is fed into a mill from the hopper. This device can also be used for resetting a job of work at any future time, and in any kind of type, thus securing, in the great bulk of book-work, all the advantage of stereotyping, at a small fraction of the cost. The triumph in this matter of distributing is so complete that it may be accomplished by three distinct methods, each suited to peculiar kinds of work, and these different methods, with the various other features, may or may not be included in the same machine; thus showing a most remarkable adaptability of the machine to the work required. For a small office, a very simple machine would be furnished at a limited cost; but for larger offices, where the greatest efficiency is required, one with all these provisions could be furnished at a higher cost.

A Type Setting Machine Company has been formed, under patents granted to Charles W. Felt, for the manufacture and sale of the necessary machinery. The capital is fixed at $50,000, which will be increased as the property augments in value, and is divided into shares of $50 each. To the published STATEMENT of the Company, giving all the details necessary to be known, we refer those who may desire to learn more about this wonderful invention, which promises to effect so great a revolution in the art of printing, and in which the whole human race have positively an abiding interest. Every encouragement should be given to the enterprise; and we commend it to the prompt attention and generous co-operation of those who possess the means to insure it triumphant success.

☞ THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY, for July, 1861, sustains its high reputation for literary ability. The following are its contents:—1. Our Orders. 2. Agnes of Sorrento. 3. Sun-Painting and Sun-Sculpture. 4. The London Working-Men's College. 5. Emancipation in Russia. 5. The Haunted Shanty. 7. Rhotruda. 8. Greek Lines. 9. The Ordeal by Battle. 10. The United States and Europe. 11. Washington as a Camp, by the late Major Winthrop. 12. Between Spring and Summer. 13. Ellsworth. Reviews and Literary Notices. Recent American Publications. The number for July commences Volume VIII., making it a favorable time to subscribe. Terms, $3 per annum, or 25 cents a number.

☞ Next Thursday is the Fourth of July. Remember the Anti-Slavery Celebration at Framingham Grove, and be present if you can.

To "B. G. W." Your communication was duly received, but, in justice to others equally desirous of being heard in our columns, we have not yet been able conveniently to find room for it. Besides, we are under no obligation to continue the discussion indefinitely. The briefest criticism on our part is sure to elicit a long rejoinder from you. This is quite unequal, and cannot with propriety be extensively indulged. Should we not publish it, your request to have the manuscript returned will be complied with.

A LETTER TO THE INDEPENDENT.

To the Editor of the Boston Liberator:

The enclosed communication was refused by the *Independent* on the ground that its editors are not under obligation to admit replies to their strictures on published documents. Will you have the kindness to let it go before the public in your columns? H. T. C.

MESSRS. EDITORS,—The charge of malignity, denunciation and "all uncharitableness," has been so often made against Abolitionists, and as often disproved, that it seems hardly worth while now to notice the stale slander. It is more than ever unnecessary since one, of whom it was asked, not many years ago, as in confident challenge, "Is Dr. Tyng an Abolitionist?" has lately declared in public that slavery is a crime that ought to be abolished, and that shall be abolished, by the righteous war in which we are now involved, and that he is neither afraid nor ashamed to be called an Abolitionist.

But when a religious paper, with a circulation of tens of thousands, charges upon a Christian Society, as you have done in the *Independent* of June 6th, that "it systematically misrepresents and maligns in its published documents the Ministry and Churches of New England," the interests of truth demand, on behalf of such a Society, that the charge be met. And no less, in my judgment, does common fairness, not to say the honor of professed Christian gentlemen, require that the reply to such a charge be admitted to your columns.

Relying, therefore, upon your sense of propriety and Christian courtesy to publish what I offer in denial of your charge, I proceed to meet it in the briefest manner compatible with thoroughness, intending to use an honest plainness of speech.

The second Annual Report of the Executive Committee to the Church Anti-Slavery Society—from which you quote with treble notes of exclamation and italic types for a very innocent clause thereof, and with flaunting capitals for the inoffensive conjunction *and,* with which it is joined to the rest of the sentence—was adopted by the Society at its public Business Meeting in Boston, on the day of the late anniversary, May 28th.

This Report, you say, "indicts the Ministry and Churches of New England collectively as faithless to anti-slavery, because unwilling to follow the beck of this particular Society. It says (yours being the italics):—

"In the year of grace from May 1860, to May 1861, when the infamous slave trade was revived and exercised with a fearful activity and prevalence not known before for forty years, and when the country was passing through a political campaign of which, in the providence of God, the only really vital question or living issue was slavery—we have seen the various Ministerial Associations and Conferences of New England meet, pray, confer and indulge in the customary platitudes, but MAKE NO PRONUNCIATION WHATEVER UPON SLAVERY OR THE SLAVE TRADE, nor do anything at all to bring the verdict of Christianity and the Church to bear against either of those foul abominations.

"In Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, the Congregational Ministry met in their annual assemblies, and with the aggressions of slavery and the execrable slave trade in full view, and the Church Anti-Slavery Society knocking at their door, and *asking friendly recognition and concurrence* in its specific work of putting the practice of slaveholding under the opprobrium of Church prohibition, as the Scriptural way of abolishing slavery, they gave not *the faintest token of sympathy* with such a work; nor did they discuss the subject in any way, nor did they propose any method of their own to make the Christianity of the nation effectively felt against the national sin of oppression."

Upon these paragraphs you found the indictment, that "the Church Anti-Slavery Society systematically misrepresents and maligns in its published documents the Ministry and Churches of New England." And the only proof of the count which you offer is in these paragraphs. But your article closes with the following, which many regard as an unbecoming and jesuitical fling:—

"For a Society which has knocked at every ecclesiastical door in New England, without securing for itself 'friendly recognition' or 'the faintest token of sympathy,' to advise the Churches to give their recognition and fellowship to a Church which a strong anti-slavery council, acting upon documentary evidence, has pronounced delinquent and disorderly, is not less amusing than impertinent."

1. Now, Messrs. Editors, I, in common with others, deliberately call this language jesuitical: and why? Webster defines jesuitical to be designing; cunning; deceitful; prevaricating. The language of yours above quoted (whether by reason of habit you are conscious of it or not, I do not say) is designing and cunning; for, in the first place, it artfully insinuates, with an appearance of truth, what is not true, viz.: that, by the Society's own confession, it has knocked at *every* ecclesiastical door in New England, without securing *for itself* friendly recognition, or the faintest token of sympathy.

The Church Anti-Slavery Society has never asked *recognition for itself* in any instance; but it has asked recognition and concurrence in its specific work of trying to put the practice of slaveholding under the opprobrium of Church prohibition, from three different State associations, and from *three only;* and, in each of those three instances, with the same result,—not the faintest token of sympathy *with such a work.* We do not say sympathy with the Society itself, but sympathy in its great work of rendering slaveholding infamous in the public eye, by putting it under the ban of excommunication by the Church, as the Scriptural way of abolishing slavery.

2. In the second place, your language is deceitful and prevaricating; for it deceivingly quibbles by an assumption which it uses as a fact, and then cunningly misleads the reader to the conclusion that there can be no moral weight to the advice given to the Churches, by a Society which has been unable to secure for itself any acknowledgment by those Churches, in its honest attempt to array them against slavery, and to procure from them an expression of Christian abhorrence of slaveholding.

It were obvious here to remark that the moral weight of a score of Christian men gathered in the Tremont Temple at Boston, in the Church Anti-Slavery Society, and possessed of "published documentary evidence," is just as great as the moral weight of a score of Christian men gathered in an Ex-Parte Council at the rooms of the Geographical Society in New York, and possessed of the same "published documentary evidence." And the Churches, not less than the community, will be just as likely to give heed to the advice of the one as of the other; only that they will lean, if anything, to the advice that was spontaneous and unsought, rather than to that which was planned and prepared for.

But in another place you are pleased to call this advice "a bit of drollery which is exquisitely refreshing." To whom it is refreshing, we are at a loss to know; for to yourselves, evidently, so far from being refreshing, this passage in the late proceedings of the Church Anti-Slavery Society is highly annoying.

3. Your language is jesuitical, again, when you say, quoting the opening paragraph of the Report:—

"What an aspersion is this upon the fidelity of the Churches and the Ministry!—what an impertinent assumption, that because they have not seen fit to elect this

elect the Church Anti-Slavery Society as their representative. Nor has this Society ever asked to be so elected. But, in reviewing the past year, the Report truly says that—

"While your Committee have seen much in the movements of Providence and the imperial march of events to warrant the belief that the end of slavery is near, even at the doors, they have also seen, in the indifference or hostility to our philanthropic object and method evinced by ministerial bodies, benevolent associations, Churches, and religious newspapers, what has all along put them in grave doubt as to whether there was to be a peaceable or violent solution to the problem of American slavery — whether, in other words, Christianity was to get at the hearts of slaveholders, through the fidelity of Churches and ministers, or whether, as Dr. Guthrie, of Edinburgh, has put it, THE SLAVES WERE TO GET AT THE THROATS OF THEIR MASTERS, and take by force the liberty which they know to be their right."

4. This statement is strictly and undeniably true. For what is the philanthropic object and method of the Church Anti-Slavery Society? It is to put the practice of slaveholding under the opprobrium of Church prohibition, as the Scriptural way of abolishing slavery. In other words, it is to argue and enforce what you have stigmatized as "the almost universally repudiated principle of Church discipline which excommunicates slaveholders." With *this* method of abolishing slavery, by putting slaveholding (through the exclusion of the slaveholder) under the ban of the Churches, "as an immorality, the renunciation of which ought to be made a condition of membership in the Christian Church," none of the General Associations of Conferences of New England Congregationalists have, during the last year, expressed any sympathy.

The nearest approach to it was made by the New Hampshire General Association, at its session in Claremont. But the resolution there adopted carefully avoided the committal of that body to the doctrine of non-fellowship with slaveholders on account of slaveholding, and as carefully avoided the issue made in behalf of the Church Anti-Slavery Society.

5. The soreness repeatedly manifested by the *Independent* towards this Society, and the captious spirit uniformly evinced on your part in speaking of it, are owing, we think, to our having taken and maintained the position that slaveholding of itself should be a bar to church-fellowship and communion. This is the ground on which we hold that the Christianity of the nation ought to plant itself. But yourselves, and not a few other leading minds of the New England ministry, have rejected this as a dogma of uncharitableness, and have accused those who hold it as denunciatory and malignant, and as siding with infidels.

In your late article, entitled "Per Se—Per Saltum," which, it may be presumed, is that especially which has led the Boston *Liberator* to say of the *Independent*, "whose moral basis, in every direction, is a slippery one"—in that article you characterize this view as the "sin-*per-se* dogma, applied by a narrow school of ethics and a most inconsequential style of logic to certain practical questions of morality." And you very self-complacently add that "minds unskilled in logic have declared slaveholding, undefined, to be sin *per se*, making this dogma the text and test of opposition to slavery."

Here, if you mean anything, you mean to say that what you call the sin-*per-se* school in this country (we have never favored that designation, nor have we dealt at all in Latin scholastics) have all along been reasoning about slaveholding without knowing what they meant. "That ambiguous and evasive term slaveholding," you have said before, "makes all the mischief." Now, we deny that the term slaveholding is either ambiguous or evasive, or that we have ever used it in any sense but its true one, or that we have ever attempted to establish any "new anti-slavery tests and definitions."

On the contrary, we assert, with entire confidence, that the ecclesiastical, historical and dictionary meaning of that term slaveholding, together with slave laws and judicial decisions innumerable, and common usage in the English tongue, have long since been agreed in making the term slaveholding to be and to express the holding of human beings as property. And that only is what Abolitionists have meant by it, according to your own virtual confession, in quoting the resolution of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1845, which declares "that by slaveholding this Society understands the holding and treating of human beings as property, and maintains that to hold and treat a human being thus, is universally and always sinful, and ought to be everywhere immediately abandoned."

This is what the *sin-per-se* school, as you designate it, have invariably meant whenever they have used the term; and it is high time that the religious press in our country should have done with verbal legerdemain, puerile disputation, and hypercritical hair-splitting in regard to it.

6. What if apologists for American slavery of the New York *Observer* type, in the pulpit, the Church, the editorial chair, and in the great associations of benevolence, have before now confused facts and confounded moral distinctions by the prefixes applied to slaveholding? What if, when the subject has been brought up by some honest Abolitionist in Synods, Assemblies, Ministers' Meetings, and Boards of Missions, learned brethren have straightway fell to talking about benevolent slaveholding, involuntary slaveholding, legal slaveholding, Christian slaveholding, unselfish slaveholding, innocent slaveholding, and all to shield the slaveholder from having guilt charged home upon him? Yet the fact stands that the real and only meaning of slaveholding, by itself, is the holding of a human being as property, as a thing. That is American slavery; that is what Garrison and Goodell and their eloquent associates have been moving heaven and earth for, the last thirty years; and that is what, in the all-wise providence of God, this country is in arms about now.

And pleased as you might be, Messrs. Editors of the *Independent*, to have "our *per-se* friends come over upon our side by a single hop," and much as it would suit you to "waive all past controversies of logic," it is not going to be waived, that Abolitionists have been all along in the right, and are in the right still, in their principles, their premises, their terms, their logic, their conclusions, their warnings, and their prophesyings.

And we strongly suspect that what has chiefly troubled you in the late Report to the Church Anti-Slavery Society, pumped up by so despicable an agency in your view as "a donkey engine," is the paragraph near the close which says, with a special significance—

"And we have seen, finally, an influential religious paper, at the North, that has rendered valuable service beforetime in the moral war with slavery, and that is now dealing its blows heavy and hot at the dying monster—we have seen that paper, in order to save an assumed principle of its ethics, that slavery is not *malum in se*, and to prevent the moral obloquy of mankind and of the Churches from settling down upon slaveholding and the slaveholder, reduced to the last shift of maintaining that the term *slaveholding* cannot be held as an invariable equivalent for holding human beings as property, and that, therefore, slaveholding is not inherently sinful."

You, Messrs. Editors, have said a good deal, in your way, in disparagement of the Church Anti-Slavery Society, while its defenders have been almost wholly excluded from your columns hitherto; just as the defenders of the Church of the Puritans have been excluded, while, with all the fury of partisans, you have persistently assailed that Church, and have done your utmost to defeat the honest mission of its pastor in its behalf in Great Britain.

But the time has come when both the Church Anti-Slavery Society and the Church of the Puritans must be heard for themselves in the *Independent*, where they have been misrepresented and maligned, or the Ministry and the Churches will be apprised of the gross unfairness of your proceedings. To me, it is anything but pleasant to say these things. But when, with what many call flippant arrogance, you indict as malignant and impertinent the "published documents of the Church Anti-Slavery," which bear the honored Christian names of Hon. I. Washburn, of Worcester, Hon. Wm. Claflin, of Newton, Rev. J. C. Webster, of Hopkinton, and Lewis Tappan, of New York, it is not for a Christian minister in my humble position to keep silent.

I am well aware that I expose myself to your sore displeasure, and to your favorite way of manifesting that displeasure by ridicule and scorn. But sneering and slander have little of terror to one conscious of rectitude, and impelled by duty. While I make no professions of stronger love for justice, or firmer devotion to principle than other honorable men, yet this I know: let me see or hear a wrong done to any man, and it awakens at once an outcry of indignation in my own soul. Nor can I tamely submit to wrong treatment in the case of a neighbor, or in my own case, without an indignant protest. The wrong itself I can sustain

"With temper, look to Heaven, nor stoop
To think my injurer my foe."

But to oppose oppression, is a part of my religion. Nor can I help resisting tyranny and domineering in Church or State, in a clique of ministers and editors, a committee of trustees, or an Ex-Parte Council, without doing violence or treachery to my own moral nature. In so acting, I know no fear of man, while I boast no courage.

But I should be untrue to the revered maternal example and lessons of youth and manhood, did I not detest injustice in every shape. For this it is that the poor man and the slave—the one often, the other always the victims of injustice—have my warmest sympathies and prayers. For this it is that I am an Abolitionist, and that I have always declared myself such, and have stood by that worthy name when it was purposely used in opprobrium, as a synonym for fanaticism and infidelity.

For this it is that, without asking how it will affect *my* interests, when I see a desperate effort made to put down a man, a Church, or a Society, I spring to the defence; and I am ready to answer those who meet me as Fluidius Priscus, a Senator of Rome, answered the Emperor Vespasian, when he threatened him with death if he spake anything in the Senate but what he, the Emperor, would have him speak—"Do what *you will*, and I will do WHAT I OUGHT."

Alas, that at this solemn season, under the manifest judgment of the Most High God for our great national sin of oppression, there should not be evinced by editors, ministers, and Churches, a clearer knowledge of the time of our visitation! Alas, that we should not all be taking occasion as one man, from our papers, our pulpits, and our prayer-meetings, quitting all our past antagonisms, to press home upon the suffering Nation its guilt in the matter of slaveholding, and to urge now, by the authority of God, upon the people and the Government—not the wretched pretence "that we have no right directly to interfere with the institution of slavery"—but the peremptory duty of the immediate national abolition of the nuisance of slaveholding, and the proclamation of LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND UNTO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF, in the name of the people of the United States, and by command of the only living and true God.

Unless we do this very soon, I greatly fear that the angle of Divine forbearance will have been rounded by us, and that the decree will go forth, not then to be arrested from execution by "*many prayers*" from an apostate and rotten Church—ACTUM EST DE TE—TU PERIISTI—It is all over with thee—thou hast perished!

HENRY T. CHEEVER.

Jewett City, Ct., June 11, 1861.

THERE MUST BE NO COMPROMISE.

BOSTON, June 19, 1861.

W. L. GARRISON, ESQ.:

DEAR SIR—I wish you would carefully examine article fourth of the "Crittenden propositions" enclosed herewith, and expose the diabolical intention contained therein.

It may be a work of supererogation to refer to these old and (in the present condition of public affairs) comparatively trifling matters, but I notice that the sleek Mawworm of slavery has been nominated for representative to Congress as a Union man from Kentucky. He will no doubt be elected, and will be ready at the meeting of Congress with his eternal and infernal compromises. I refer to the subject now to show how necessary it is that Northern representatives should critically scrutinize any and all propositions coming from the Border States, in order to detect the hidden meaning and real intent of the slaveholder.

The dealers in human flesh and blood always mask their cruel designs under a specious and apparently harmless paraphrase of words, which, when examined in the light of reason, and with judicial care, will be found to cover the most dangerous and criminal purposes. This charge can be sustained by reference to the article in question, (No. 4,) which reads thus:—

"Congress shall have no power to *prohibit or hinder* the transportation of slaves *from one State to another*, (mark you!—a stop there,) or to a TERRITORY in which slaves are by law permitted to be held, whether that transportation be by land, navigable rivers, or by the sea."

Now, Sir, it seems to me that the first clause in the article would authorize the slaveholder to carry his chattels from South Carolina to Massachusetts, or from Kentucky to Ohio—in fact, from slave State to free State, and back again, and from one *free State to another*, at his will and pleasure. You will observe that the words, "in which slaves are by law permitted to be held," refer not to the *States* mentioned in the first clause, but to the Territories solely. The words, "whether that transportation be by land, navigable rivers, or by the sea," could and would be held to grant the slaveholder the power to send his slaves to colonize Lower California, New Mexico, and the Southern American States by water, and also to ship his refractory bondmen to Cuba to be sold, and to carry them to Europe with him in his travels, there to be a source of constant contention between this and foreign governments. *All* the clauses in the "Crittenden Compromise," or any other proposition emanating from the Border States, will warrant a suspicion of foul intent, not apparent on their face;—and it is the solemn duty of all the members of Congress from the free States, when they assemble in Washington on the fourth of July next, *to refuse all compromises with slavery at any cost*. In this way only can they save themselves from the numerous traps which will be set for them by the tortuous and weazel-like Southern mind.

I am astonished at the want of knowledge displayed by the so-called wise men of the nation in the discussion of the Crittenden resolves at Washington, last fall. No man seemed to have a correct apprehension of their practical bearing; but I think their eyes are now opened to the danger of tampering with the double-edged sword of compromise.

I am, Sir, with respect,

A BUSINESS MAN.

SHAMEFUL PERSECUTION.

ANGOLA, (Ind.) June 20, 1861.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I wrote you, one week ago, that a war had broken out in Steuben County, Indiana, in consequence of a violation of the Black Laws of the State by SOJOURNER TRUTH; and also a violation of the Dred Scott Decision by some of the citizens of the county, who recognized in her rights that they were bound to respect; but, in reality, it turns out to be the violation of the old edict that Slavery shall rule, in State and Federal Government, and that Liberty shall no where assert itself.

In my experience with mobs, I have never seen such determination. No dog ever hung to a bone as have these hungry hounds to Sojourner, under the cover of law—as they understood that to be their only safety. Since the first outbreak,—which was clearly a riot, and is to be treated as such, within the limits of legality,—they have resorted to every possible expedient. She was first arrested for coming into the State, being black; next, as a mulatto; then, for coming in; then, for remaining in the State! In every case, we have outwitted and beaten them. In the first two cases, I undertook her defence alone; in the two last, we had two of the most able lawyers in the county. Mr. Fox Orland was indicted to answer for "encouraging" her to remain—was found not guilty, and acquitted. Mr. Roby for entertaining her; recognized to appear at the District Court. It should go up to the Supreme Court, where the law will be found unconstitutional. This will be done, if necessary.

The conquest of free speech, and these six counts, within a week, all largely attended by persons from every part of the county, especially by the most influential and noble-hearted women, whose presence in the court-room has produced a marked impression, have done more toward establishing a free government, than would the killing of a hundred of Ellsworth's Zouaves. The lines are now drawn as they never were by political manœuvre, and as they cannot be by the cold steel alone, because it is a blow at slavery.

If the North would now assert free speech for Liberty, under constitutional guaranty, and by the authority of manhood, it would not require "eleven months" from the firing of Sumter to quell rebellion in the whole country.

"Cannon balls may aid the truth, but Thought's a weapon stronger."

Slavery has made a conquest in this country by the suppression of free speech; and Freedom must make her conquest by our steadfast support of free speech.

You know there was not manhood enough in the county, last fall, to protect an anti-slavery meeting in the county seat. Now, there are a hundred men who would spill their blood, sooner than surrender the right of even Sojourner,—to say nothing of yours or my meeting; and this manhood has been developed, not by a declaration, but by persistent agitation of the question that politicians have agreed to compromise—the negro—a more dangerous compromise than that of Seward and Crittenden, because aimed at the very essence of the government, repudiating the authority of manhood, and deceiving, "if possible, the very elect."

I have never labored a month in the cause of human freedom with so much acknowledged result as during the last just past. Our four Sunday meetings have been immense gatherings of the most candid, influential, thorough men, coming from the most remote parts of the county. Yesterday we held two meetings three miles apart, and so very intense was the interest that no time for refreshment was allowed between the meetings! An old Revolutionary soldier, ninety-eight years old, walked three miles to the meeting, to get into a war for freedom once more before he died, as he said; and two women, with babes in their arms, were in meeting from 11 till 4; and though nursing their babes all day, without food, said to me at night, they were neither tired nor hungry.

At both these meetings, the churches were closed by very small majorities, and by trick, and the people listened in God's great temple.

Never was I so sensible of power, and never did a people seem to me so lifted up, and enabled to comprehend the "critical doctrine." They voted to require the trustees of the township to open every school-house to free discussion, and pledged themselves to open the churches, or withdraw from them, and called for an indignation meeting at the court-room, with sufficient time to notify the whole county. The superintendent of the Union Sabbath school, who was shut out of the church, after preaching, (with his school,) for fear that we might go in, gave a hearty and public invitation for a meeting in his very large new barn, and, with eyes suffused with tears, said he thought he had a right in the church, but he knew he had one in the barn; and he would invite Sojourner Truth, and everybody else there for the support of free speech, regardless of consequences. At all of our meetings for three weeks, we have been told that armed men were in our midst, and had declared that they would blow out our brains. But the battle of Sojourner is nearly fought; and they know whom they have to dread till the end of this war of the negro, and whose fiery indignation is kindling for a more dreadful combat, to secure the rights of woman; and when that is done, I promise them and you I will seek rest only in the quiet of the grave.

JOSEPHINE S. GRIFFING.

RECOLLECTIONS OF FRANKLIN HALL.

DEAR MR. GARRISON—The building just taken down from the north corner of Franklin and Washington streets, to make way for modern improvements, has a historic interest, anti-slavery wise, which, for "auld lang syne," you perhaps may deem worthy of record in the *Liberator*.

In the third story of that building was a room, called Franklin Hall, which, though not so large as the present business office of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, (directly opposite, and in which I indite these lines,) was yet capacious enough to hold meetings for addresses and discussions, by yourself and the few other kindred spirits who rallied around you in that early dawn of the anti-slavery movement in Boston (1831)—preceding even the formation of the New England Anti-Slavery Society—the pioneer organization.

I remember, one evening, a young man zealously combatted there your idea of immediate emancipation; and, in reply to his argument for gradualism, you told him that he was thus sustaining the slave system, with all its abominations; that he was virtually saying to the merciless slave-driver, "Put on the lash—put on the lash, until some time hence, between now and the judgment day, a convenient time may arrive for him to unloose his unholy grasp, and set the captive free." You urged him to put himself in the position of a plantation slave, &c.—to remember those in bonds as bound with them; and you culminated in the spirit of those lines, so often and so effectively quoted in your public addresses:—

"Oh, where's the slave so lowly,
Condemned to chains unholy,
Who, could he burst his bonds at first,
Would pine beneath them slowly?"

The hearts of the audience were deeply moved by your appeal; but it was evident that the doctrine was too ultra for their adoption, without further consideration. Your opponent was, however, among the earliest converts; appearing soon after in the lecturing field, eloquently urging others to embrace the faith he had so recently denounced.

Among those few who lectured, or were otherwise prominent, in the Franklin Hall meetings, was the late WILLIAM J. SNELLING, Esq., who, you once told me, wrote the Preamble to the Constitution of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society; and the Rev. MOSES THACHER, who drafted the Address which was published with the Constitution, and who yet lives to rejoice (as he tells us in a letter to the Faneuil Hall Festival, in 1857, commemorative of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Society's formation,) that he "finds no occasion to swerve from a single sentiment or principle therein set forth."

There was also the late ALONZO LEWIS, Esq., the famed Bard and Historian of Lynn. He was one of the Vice Presidents of the Society, and once served as editor *pro tem.* of the *Liberator*, during your first Eastern anti-slavery tour. He kept a school in the Franklin Hall building, where I applied to him for the admission of some colored boys and girls; which innovation (as it was in those days) would probably have been granted had he not commenced preparations for other duties in Lynn.

Other reminiscences float before me, but I will not at this time spin out a longer thread.

The contrast between that day of small things and the present, when the whole nation is at last aroused for settlement of the slavery question, is indeed most marvellous; and as potent in its tendency to the results of that faithfulness and perseverance, now by all the world acknowledged as characteristics of the Anti-Slavery crusade. Many of them,—good and faithful servants of the God of Justice, Humanity and Freedom,—have gone to their reward. Others, whose physical energies have been worn out by the pilgrimage, leaning upon their staves, are yet abundantly hopeful for the victory which seems to greet their mental vision. For the remainder, who continue to labor and wait, it may be permitted them to behold in the flesh the realization of their hopes and prayers,—the slaves' emancipation, the nation's jubilee!

May you be among this favored number!

Faithfully yours,

WILLIAM C. NELL.

Boston, June 26, 1861.

JOHN BELL. John Bell addressed a secession meeting in Knoxville, Tennessee, on the 5th instant, and gave utterance to these treasonable sentiments:—

"For himself he had taken his position. The noose was probably around his neck, but he was frank to declare himself a rebel! He had counselled resistance to the invasive policy of the federal government, and that made him a rebel, and if there was any punishment to follow it, he was willing to incur it—he did not seek to evade either the charge or the responsibility." (The applause which followed this declaration of Mr. Bell was so great, that he could not, for a moment, proceed. During the pause, Dr. Curry presented the speaker a bouquet on behalf of the ladies present, which compliment Mr. Bell appropriately acknowledged.) Mr. Bell resumed:—

"Notwithstanding the eagerness of the North to engage in and prolong this war for military glory, he did not believe it would be of long duration. He thought it would be ended in a year. England and France had an interest in the matter, and they would not permit it to continue. It was their interest to favor a reconciliation.

"He would not debate the question whether the first one or two States had acted right in seceding. He did not believe they had. But when seven or eight States had seceded, and their people were unanimous, it was then a revolution, and the administration had made a great mistake in attempting to coerce them. They never could coerce them—they never could conquer them."

INDIANS IN THE SOUTHERN ARMY. The Arkansas regiment arrived here Sunday—strong, with plenty of Indians among them, and bowie-knives ever so long. They can "whip their weight in wild cats," and are determined to average five Yankee soldiers apiece.—*Fredericksburg (Va.) Arena.*

During the Revolutionary war, our countrymen charged that Great Britain was guilty of a revolting violation of all the laws of civilized warfare in employing the Indians to fight for her, and the same opinion in regard to her conduct has prevailed ever since. We think that the Southern Government makes a serious mistake when it enrols Indians in its service. We see from the papers that Albert Pike, assuming no doubt the costume of a savage, painting his face, wearing a ring in his nose, and hanging wampum about his neck, has gone into the Cherokee Nation to raise a regiment there to fight the North.

When that eloquent and famous Indian, George Copway, a few weeks ago, raised a regiment of Northern Indians, and offered it to the U. S. Government, the offer was instantly rejected. Perhaps, however, General Scott may reconsider his decision. He may think that Copway and his Indians may do very well to fight Pike and his Indians. It would be well if the whole fighting of the war could be done by the two savage regiments, and still better if it could be done by their two commanders. Whoever has seen Pike knows that he has a tremendous head of hair. Copway would fight like the devil to secure such a wonderful scalp to tickle his squaw and adorn his wigwam.—*Louisville Journal.*

TERRORISM. We receive hardly a copy of the Memphis *Bulletin* which does not bring us some account like this, which we take from last Friday's paper:—

"*Abolitionist Hung.*—John Beman is the name of the watchman on the steamer Morrison, who was yesterday hung near Mound City. He was a native of Norway, came to this country in 1811, and lived in Boston, where he has children. He was first examined by a committee, was proven to have said that he hoped Lincoln would come down the river and take every thing; that he would die rather than live in the Southern States, and much more of the same sort, that it is needless to repeat. The committee proposed to forgive him if he would take an oath to support the Southern States. He indignantly repelled the proposition, and said he would die first. Finding that he was determined and malignant, they threw a rope over the limb of a tree, and strung him up twenty-five feet, where he was hanging last night."

Honor to the name of the loyal man! Boston will care for his children.—*Providence Journal*

WOULD NOT TOUCH IT. A great Union meeting was held in San Francisco a few weeks ago. Some 25,000 people took part in it. Patriotism and Union were manifested in every way. An incident is related illustrating the feeling of "Young America." A company of boys were being marshaled to carry the banners representing the names and arms of the thirty-four States. The Northern States went off lively, but the Southern States dragged; it required a great deal of persuasion to get the boys to carry any of them, but finally, one by one, they were shouldered, until it came to the last, which was South Carolina—here the feeling broke out into open mutiny. Not a boy would carry it, or touch it—persuasions, commands and bribes were alike disregarded. Finally, an "outsider," a boy who was not "posted," was enlisted, and by a cash payment of fifty cents and large prospects ahead, was hired to carry South Carolina through, and the boy stood manfully by it all day, *malgre* the jibes and jeers of the remainder.

☞ A case of poisoning with pies filled with pounded glass was discovered at the encampment of Col. Howard's Third Maine regiment, Friday. Three of the men were seized with violent illness. The symptoms were peculiar, and surgeons from the neighboring camps were called in consultation. Upon interrogating the sick men, it was found they had all eaten pies purchased early in the morning from a pie-vender about the camp. A part of one of these pies was examined, and was found to be filled with pounded glass. One of the men is expected to die, and the other two are in a dangerous condition. The pie vender has not yet been discovered. Patrols were detailed for that purpose, but their efforts were unsuccessful.

☞ It is now evident that the main blow against the rebels will be struck from the Federal Capital. The army on the right and left banks of the Potomac, distributed so that it can all be concentrated at one point in less than two hours, now consists of fully forty-five thousand effective men, comprising two infantry and one cavalry regiment of regulars, twenty-one regiments from the city and State of New York, five from Pennsylvania, four from Maine, three from Connecticut, three from Michigan, two from Ohio, two from Massachusetts, one from Rhode Island, and six batteries of light artillery.

Ten thousand more men will be added to this immense body, early next week. Ten thousand, with the District militia, will be sufficient for the defence of the Capital, so that a grand army of forty-five thousand as spirited troops as can be found anywhere can be moved against the rebels. With the aid of Gen. Patterson's *corps d'armee*, they will be more than sufficient to break the lines of the rebels, and drive them in the direction of Richmond.

LATEST FROM THE STATE OF PICKENS AND STEALINGS. The following Proclamation appears in the Charleston *Mercury* of June 7th:—

STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA.
Executive Chamber, June 6, 1861.

I have understood that many good people have been remitting funds to creditors in the Northern States.

In the existing relations of the country, such conduct is in conflict with public law, and all citizens are hereby warned against the consequences.

F. W. PICKENS.

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo., June 22d. A gentleman from near Camp Cole says, at the fight there, on the 18th inst., twenty-three Union men were killed. They were commanded by Capt. Cook, who fled, but the men rallied, and forced the assailants to retreat with a loss of twenty-five men. The editor of the Warsaw *Democrat* and three other prominent citizens of Warsaw were among the number. Seventeen of the Union men who were killed were sleeping in a barn at the time of the attack.

Governor Jackson, with 600 men, passed Camp Cole on the 20th, pushing forward probably for Arkansas.

The *Tribune* has intelligence that Capt. Prince, with 400 regulars, marched from Kansas City to Liberty, Mo., on the 19th inst., to disperse a camp of 500 rebels under command of Brigadier General Morin. The next day, the rebels, hearing of the approach of Capt. Prince, broke up their camp, and scattered in every direction. Capt. Prince took possession of the town, and captured the principal secessionists, including Gen. Morin. All took the oath of allegiance except Gen. Morin, who remains as a prisoner. A Home Guard was then organized and armed.

☞ The Secession feeling is on the increase in Baltimore, and the vast numbers of Union troops constantly passing through the city do not diminish it.

MILWAUKEE, Wisconsin, June 24th. The feeling against the banks, which has been growing for some days, culminated this morning in an attack upon them by a mob. Mitchell's Bank was the first attacked. All the furniture was destroyed. One of the clerks was taken out insensible. The mob afterwards attacked the State Bank of Milwaukee, the Zurean Bank, and Martin's brokers' office. The damage to these was very great. The Montgomery Guards were called out by the Mayor, but on arriving on the ground refused to act. The Zouaves were then called out, and fired on the mob with buckshot. Fears are entertained that there will be sad work this afternoon.

Later.—The riot to-day caused a greater loss of property than was at first supposed. The attack is ascertained to have been a regularly organized thing. Yesterday meetings were held in the upper wards of the city. About 10 o'clock this forenoon, the rioters marched from the 6th and 9th wards through East Water street to Mitchell's Bank, attacking it with stones and bricks, soon riddling the windows completely. The clerks barricaded the doors in order to gain time to secure the valuables, which they did in a great measure. The mob then broke down the doors, and soon stripped the room of everything, throwing the furniture and books into the street.

The State Bank on the opposite corner and B. Martin's office were then attacked, and served in the same manner. The Bank of Milwaukee was also stoned, but suffered little damage. Allis McGreggor's real estate office was completely gutted, and books valued at $6000 destroyed. The Zurean Bank windows were broken.

The Mayor and Police were promptly on the ground, but were powerless. When the Zouaves charged, the mob ran, and the streets were soon cleared. Guards were stationed at the street corners and at each bank. About fifty of the rioters were arrested, and lodged in jail under a strong guard.

This evening the mob again met in force in the 2d and 6th wards, and inflammatory speeches are being made. They have one cannon, and threaten to attack the jail to-night unless their friends are released.

The Governor has declared martial law, and telegraphed to Racine and Madison for State troops, who will arrive to-night.

The following persons were injured: Alexander Mitchell, slightly; C. H. Larkin, Jr., paying teller of Mitchell's Bank, badly bruised; Judge Stanweather, trampled on, badly hurt; Mayor Brown, knocked down by a stone and slightly hurt; Mr. Haydon, book-keeper of the State Bank, considerably hurt. One of the rioters was badly cut on the shoulder, and another was wounded in the leg by a bayonet.

The riot was caused by the action of the bankers on Saturday, in throwing out of circulation the notes of a large number of the banks of the State.

MILWAUKEE, Wis., June 25th. All quiet to-day. Constant guard is kept at the jail and in the streets. No disturbance is apprehended to-day.

BALTIMORE, June 24. The Agent of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad at Martinsburg has arrived, and reports a great destruction of the property of the company there by the rebels. Forty-eight locomotives and a large number of gondolas and coal cars were surrounded by piles of wood, and fired, and all the perishable portions consumed, and the iron damaged perhaps beyond repair. A large hotel there, occupied by H. B. Carpenter, was with great difficulty saved. The agent says he and the master mechanic were arrested and carried before General Johnston for trying to stop the destruction of property.

ALEXANDER, Va., June 23d. A captain of one of the companies of the 2d Connecticut regiment was abducted by the Secessionists yesterday. A lady requested him to provide her with an escort to her house, as she was afraid to go alone. He gallantly tendered his own services, since which nothing has been heard of him.

☞ Mr. McDonald, a native of Worcester, Mass., who was working as a carpenter in Mississippi, has escaped. He was three times imprisoned on his way. The last time was at Aquia Creek, from whence he fled at great peril. Swimming eight miles, he reached the Pawnee at Maryland Point, completely exhausted. He states that the rebels at Aquia Creek had been reinforced 3000 strong, and that in the late engagements with the Freeborn and Anacosta, they had fifty men killed, and many wounded.

PRIZES CAPTURED. A letter dated on board the United States steam frigate Mississippi, at Key West, June 8, confirms the report that she had captured a steamship, which was loaded with shot and shell for the rebels. She was sailing under false papers. They also took a large brig the day before.

☞ The skirmish that occurred on Monday last in the vicinity of Edward's Ferry proves to have been a serious affair for the rebels. A few shells were thrown across the river by the battery attached to Col. Stone's command, and one of them struck in a boat in which a party were crossing a small creek, and nearly twenty of them were killed.

It seems that S. W. Clark, of the Third New York regiment, deserted the night before the affair at Great Bethel, and, obtaining a citizen's dress from traitors, gave the traitors full information as to our movements. He is now at Richmond, the rebels refusing to receive him into service.

The *Tribune's* Washington dispatch says:—Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, with three friends, was fired at on their way here by fifteen Virginians at Cumberland Gap, but they all escaped without injury. Mr. Johnson thinks that, with a fair canvas and six weeks' time, the whole of Tennessee would be carried for the Union.

☞ A private letter from Minister Corwin, dated Mexico, May 17th, says the accounts reaching there of matters in the United States are confused. He expresses an earnest desire to know the facts, it being reported through secession channels that President Lincoln had been driven from Washington, and that Gen. Scott was at the head of the Confederate army!

☞ A Washington special dispatch to the New York *Evening Post* states that gentlemen from Paris say they saw a letter there from Senator Mason, dated February 20th, declaring that arrangements had been made to secure the passage of the secession ordinance in Virginia, and that Washington would be seized at an early day. Mason was then sitting in the Senate.

☞ A force of the enemy's cavalry have returned to Harper's Ferry, and destroyed much of the remaining property. They arrested eleven Union men, and fired without effect on fifty others who were escaping by swimming across the Potomac.

☞ Among letters captured by General Lyon at Booneville were orders for the destruction of bridges on the North Missouri and Hannibal, St. Joseph and Pacific Railroads, and instructions to different persons respecting the organization of troops.

☞ It is reported that five important towns in the interior of St. Domingo have been fortified, and, assisted by the Haytiens, the inhabitants intend to resist Spanish progress there—that the inhabitants of one village there have been massacred because they refused to swear allegiance to Spain—and that the Spanish troops have been defeated in a small engagement. Additional troops are being sent from Havana to reinforce the troops.

☞ The Madrid *Correspondencia* referring to a dispatch stating that President Lincoln had declared that if Spain occupied San Domingo, she would do so at her own risk and peril, says that the Government has received no official notice of any such declaration, but it is prepared to defend the integrity of the territory which it has annexed to Spain.

THUNDER AND HAIL. On Sunday, 16th inst., a thunder storm passed over Boston, and at the same time a hail storm visited a number of towns on the South shore, and in several cases did considerable damage. At Quincy, stones fell of the size of nearly half an inch, but did not result in any serious injury to glass or crops. In the town of Milton, the hail did great damage to the crops, and broke a large amount of window-glass. Hailstones fell to the size of an inch and a quarter in diameter. The first peal of thunder broke directly over the church of Rev. Mr. Pike, in which divine service was there being held, and the storm soon became so heavy as to break in the windows, and deluge the congregation sitting at the western portion of the house. The services were discontinued in the middle of the sermon.

In Plymouth the damage was estimated at $3000. Blinds were completely shattered, shingles broken and torn from the roofs, and many of the buildings had not a single pane of glass remaining on the south and westerly sides. In one green-house alone, 1700 lights were broken. Trees were stripped of both leaves and fruit; grass just ready to cut is level with the ground, and the gardens will all have to be replanted. Some of the hailstones were as large as a hen's eggs.

The hail storm raged with violence in some parts of Rhode Island, breaking windows, unroofing frail buildings, and prostrating trees. Down in the harbor the hailstones were so large that they made the hands of the boatmen black and blue, and drew blood from their heads. The Providence *Journal* says that such a tempest has not been known in twenty-five years, in the track of this tornado.

In some parts of New Jersey, the storm inflicted great damage. Between Rahway and Brunswick, whole fields of grain were completely prostrated, trees were bereft of fruit, leaves, and stems one-eighth of an inch in thickness. In the neighborhood of Metuchin, scarcely a window was left, panes of glass being first perforated, as if with bullets, and afterwards completely demolished.

☞ The town of Robertsport, in Liberia, was visited by a terrific tornado on the night of March 16, which prostrated thirty-two houses. Two persons lost their lives by being crushed by the falling buildings

☞ MERCY B. JACKSON, M. D., having had fifteen years' experience in the Homœopathic treatment of diseases, offers her professional services to the Ladies and Children of Boston and vicinity.

References.—David Thayer, M. D.; Luther Clark, M. D.; John M. Tarbell, M. D., Boston. Eliphalet Clark, M. D., Portland, Me.

Rooms No. 20 Bulfinch street. Office hours from 2 to 4, P. M.

☞ PLEASANT BOARDING, ON FAVORABLE TERMS.—Mrs. H. S. DENHAM can accommodate a gentleman and wife, or two or three single gentlemen, with pleasant rooms, on favorable terms, at 75 (formerly 33) Beach street, near the Worcester Depot, Boston.

A few transient boarders can also be accommodated.

☞ ANTI-SLAVERY MEETINGS.—PARKER PILLSBURY will attend Anti-Slavery Meetings on Sunday, 30th inst., at the usual hours, at Cummington.

☞ A. T. FOSS, an Agent of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, will speak at

Hyannis, Sunday, July 7.

☞ A. M. POWELL, an Agent of the American A. S. Society, will speak at

South Bend Mills, N. Y., Saturday, June 29.
Martindale, Sunday, June 30.
Red Rock, " July 7.

☞ HENRY C. WRIGHT will hold meetings in the Universalist Church in Duxbury, Sunday, June 30, forenoon and afternoon.

☞ E. H. HEYWOOD will speak at Music Hall, Sunday, June 30, on "The Present Crisis."

☞ The *P. O. Address* of Mrs. Caroline H. Dall is changed from Bradford street to No. 5 Ashland Place, Boston. The *Anti-Slavery Standard* and the New York *Christian Inquirer* will please copy.

ST. MARY'S LAKE
WATER-CURE.
OPENED BY
H. A. PETERMAN, M. D.

THE Proprietors of this Institution take pleasure in announcing to the invalids of Michigan and its neighboring States, that they have opened their WATER-CURE at St. Mary's Lake, and are now in readiness to receive patients.

This Institution is situated in one of the most healthy and pleasant locations in the State, on the banks of a beautiful little lake, four miles North of the City of Battle Creek.

The buildings are new, commodious, and furnished for the comfort and convenience of invalids. The bath-rooms are large, and fitted up with hot, cold, vapor, chemical, and electrical baths.

The lake, whose waters are as clear and soft as those of a spring from the granite mountain's base, is well supplied with boats and bath-houses. No more beautiful fresh water bathing can be found in any land.

Several hundred acres of the grand Old Oak Forest, immediately surrounding the lake, have been reserved for pleasure-grounds.

The afflicted, requiring surgical treatment, will find this a most desirable establishment, where they can be placed in the best possible condition to bear an operation, and receive the best of care afterwards.

Particular attention given to the treatment of diseases of the Eye. All operations performed that warrant a prospect of restoring sight to the blind. Our treatment for Cataract is entirely new, and in advance of anything hitherto known.

A supply of beautiful Artificial Eyes kept constantly on hand.

Paralysis, and every variety of Nervous and Chronic diseases, will be treated.

The Ladies' Department is under the care of Mrs. S. A. Peterman, whose long experience in the treatment of the diseases incident to the female constitution renders her treatment unsurpassed by that of any physician now practising in that department of the medical profession.

There will be a competent Music Teacher in attendance, to give instruction in Piano, Guitar, and Vocal Music, to such as may wish to take medical treatment and pursue the study of Music at the same time. For such, this will be found a most desirable location, where the mental and physical systems may both be developed; the one in the music room, the other in rambling through the leafy woods, in the Gymnasium, and in boat-rowing, than which no better exercise can be found.

We intend, with the aid of competent help in every department, to make *this* CURE the invalid's HOME, as well as a place for medical treatment.

Those coming as patients should furnish themselves with two comfortables, two linen or cotton packing sheets, one woollen blanket, and one half-dozen bath towels, or they can be furnished by the CURE at fifty cents per week extra.

TERMS—From $7 to $10 per week, for treatment, board, &c., according to roomand care.

This Institution is accessible by Michigan Central Railroad. Carriage always in

Poetry.

For the Liberator.

"THE NORTH AROUSED AT LAST."

"The North aroused at last!" What roused her ire?
Was it the bondman's miseries untold—
The mother shrieking for her children sold,
Or her own children made to pass through fire
To this great Southern Moloch? Alas! no!
Shame be upon her! Still, in calm content,
Forth to her merchandize or toil she went;
Unmoved by such dire tales of shame and woe,
Methinks would thrill the Eternal Heart! But when
The traitors' fiery rain of shot and shell
Poured fast on Sumter's battered citadel,
Rending the flag that o'er its walls did wave;
Burning with vengeance, sprang a thousand men,
The honor of that soulless rag to save,
Where one was found to mourn the wrongs that crush the hapless slave!

Wisconsin, June, 1861. C. L. MORGAN.

For the Liberator.

"WHAT OF THE NIGHT?"

TO W. L. GARRISON.

Tell us, is it the morning light
That brightly gilds yon mountain height?
Or is but a meteor blaze
That on its lofty summit plays—
A sudden splendor, false as bright,
To fade and leave a darker night?

Ah! our hearts beat wild and fast!
Has the morning come at last?
Thou who on the mountain long
Hast cheered the darkness with a song,
Shout to us who dwell below,
Comes the promised dawn, or no?

In the valley's darkness praying
For the Dayspring still delaying,
Waiting through the weary years,
Fainting with our doubts and fears,
If tho morning drawns not nigh,
What have we to do but die? C. L. M.

From the New York Independent.

"EIN FESTE BURG IST UNSER GOTT."

[LUTHER'S HYMN.]

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

We wait beneath the furnace blast
The pangs of transformation;
Not painlessly doth God recast
And mould anew the nation.
Hot burns the fire
Where wrongs expire;
Nor spares the hand
That from the land
Uproots the ancient evil.

The hand-breadth cloud the sages feared
Its bloody rain is dropping;
The poison plant the fathers spared
All else is overtopping.
East, West, South, North,
It curses the earth;
All justice dies,
And fraud and lies
Live only in its shadow.

What gives the wheat-field blades of steel?
What points the rebel cannon?
What sets the roaring rabble's heel
On the old star-spangled pennon?
What breaks the oath
Of the men of the South?
What whets the knife
For the Union's life?—
Hark to the answer:—SLAVERY!

Then waste no blows on lesser foes
In strife unworthy freemen;
God lifts to-day the veil, and shows
The features of the demon!
O North and South,
Its victims both,
Can ye not cry,
"Let Slavery die!"
And union find in freedom?

What though the cast-out spirit tear
The nation in his going,
We who have shared the guilt must share
The pang of his overthrowing!
Whate'er the loss,
Whate'er the cross,
Shall they complain
Of present pain
Who trust in God's hereafter?

For who that leans on his right arm
Was ever yet forsaken?
What righteous cause can suffer harm,
If he its part has taken?
Though wild and loud
And dark the cloud,
Behind its folds
His hand upholds
The calm sky of to-morrow!

Above the maddening cry for blood,
Above the wild war drumming,
Let Freedom's voice be heard, with good
The evil overcoming.
Give prayer and purse
To stay The Curse,
Whose wrong we share,
Whose shame we bear,
Whose end shall gladden Heaven!

In vain the bells of war shall ring
Of triumphs and revenges;
While still is spared the evil thing
That severs and estranges.
But, blest the ear
That yet shall hear
The jubilant bell
That rings the knell
Of slavery forever!

Then let the selfish lip be dumb,
And hushed the breath of sighing;
Before the joy of peace must come
The pains of purifying.
God give us grace,
Each in his place
To bear his lot,
And, murmuring not,
Endure and wait and labor!

TIME AND ETERNITY.

It is not time that flies;
'Tis we, 'tis we are flying:
It is not life that dies;
'Tis we, 'tis we are dying.
Time and eternity are one;
Time is eternity begun;
Life changes, but without decay;
'Tis we alone who pass away.

It is not truth that flies;
'Tis we, 'tis we are flying;
It is not faith that dies;
'Tis we, 'tis we are dying.
O, ever-during faith and truth,
Whose youth is age, whose age is youth;
Twin stars of immortality,
Ye cannot perish from our sky.

It is not hope that flies;
'Tis we, 'tis we are flying;
It is not love that dies;
'Tis we, 'tis we are dying.
Twin streams that have in heaven your birth,
Ye glide in gentle joy through earth,
We fade, like flowers, beside you sown;
Ye are still flowing on.

Yet we but die to live,
It is from death we're flying;
For ever lives our life;
For us there is no dying.
We die but as the spring-bud dies,
In summer's golden glow to rise.
These be our days of April bloom;
Our July is beyond the tomb.

The Liberator.

AN EXPOSURE OF PRO-SLAVERY SOPHISTRY.

"American Society for Promoting National Unity.—'God is our refuge and strength.'—Society Rooms, Bible House, Astor Place, New York.—1861."—pp. 16.

"Letter from the Right Rev. John H. Hopkins, D.D., L.L.D., Bishop of Vermont, on the Bible View of Slavery." Printed at New York, by the Society above named.

"Review of a Letter from the Right Rev. John H. Hopkins, D.D., L.L.D., Bishop of Vermont. By a Vermonter.—Burlington: Free Press Print. 1861." pp. 28.

In the *Liberator* of April 5th was given a notice of the first of the three pamphlets above mentioned, which announced the establishment of a new Society in New York city, for the manufacture, commendation and diffusion of pro-slavery literature. It contained, besides the Preamble and Constitution of the new Society, five pages of names of "proposed" Vice Presidents and Honorary Members, most of them already known as men favorable to the continuance of slavery. In a subsequent issue of the same pamphlet, there was substituted, in place of these names, an address of the Executive Committee "to their fellow-citizens," signed by Samuel F. B. Morse, Chairman of the Executive Committee, and Hubbard Winslow and Seth Bliss, Secretaries. The chief features of this address are an assumption that slavery, as now practised in this country, is approvingly ordained of God—another assumption, kindred to this in falseness, that opposition to slavery proceeds from infidelity—an admission of the fact (directly opposite to the assumption last named) that the Anti-Slavery movement "is a *religious* war against *sin*"—a declaration that their own course of policy must be to "divest the Anti-Slavery organization of its *religious* feature" (!)—an exaltation of the Constitution as "the true rule of our political faith"—a disparagement of the Declaration of Independence as grossly erroneous in its doctrine of human rights—a representation that action by Congress in defence of such rights in slaves would be an infringement, altogether unjustifiable, of a religious right of slaveholding belonging to their masters—and, finally, a general independence of truth and fairness in its method of arguing the subject.

In conclusion, this pamphlet announced that a second publication by this Society—"Bible Views of Slavery," by Bishop Hopkins of Vermont—would soon appear, to be followed by other works of similar character as soon as funds and other circumstances should permit.

In compliance with the request of the Executive Committee, Bishop Hopkins accordingly wrote the "Letter" forming the second pamphlet above named, which, before appearing in that form, was printed in the New York *Observer*, with high commendation. My purpose now is to notice the very able "Review" of that Letter, subsequently published in Burlington, "by a Vermonter."

The character of the Bishop's letter makes it absolutely necessary for this Reviewer to speak of the misrepresentations, of fact and of truth, with which that letter abounds; and he addresses himself to this work with commendable directness, as follows:—

"Sophistry, however, for minds unaccustomed to logical thought, and especially sophistry skilfully addressed to ignorance *for the very purpose of deception*, cannot be counteracted by mere demonstration of the truth. There is thrown upon the defenders of the truth the ignoble and nasty necessity of uncoiling all the snaky folds of the sophistry itself, so that it may be visible and palpable to all men. That these remarks are applicable to the character and *purpose* of the Bishop's letter, I mean to make undeniable before I have done with it. The time for *soft* words is past."

The Reviewer fully establishes what he has thus intimated. He shows that the Bishop has practised gross and palpable falsification of history, ecclesiastical and other; that his statements, wherever plausible to the careless reader, are made so by shameful misinterpretation of Scripture, and by false arguments and assumptions: that, in his treatment of the "curse of Canaan" and other passages of the Bible—"instead of an unconscious self-delusion, there is a conscious purpose to deceive others by reasoning known to be false"; that the argument (from the example of the patriarchs) used by the Bishop of Vermont in defence of slavery is identically the same, perfectly parallel in every point, with that of the Bishop of Salt Lake in defence of polygamy; that the latter of these Bishops, who holds this method of interpretation to justify both slavery and polygamy, shows himself a better reasoner than the former, who takes one and rejects the other; that if what was permitted to the Jews is *therefore* permitted to Christians, then what was *prohibited* to Jews is also prohibited to Christians, and what was *commanded* to Jews is also commanded to Christians; that the slavery men must take all or nothing; and that there is no possible escape from this necessity, except by the grossest violation of all the rules of honest reasoning.

The Reviewer proceeds to show the grossness and audacity of some others of the Bishop's gratuitous assumptions, such as that, wherever the English Bible uses the word *servant*, the original means *slave*; that because it may be right, and sometimes a duty, for the slave to suffer wrong, therefore, it is right for the master to inflict it; that the slaveholders pretend to no property in the slave other than the right to his labor; and that the axiomatic statement of the Declaration of Independence respecting the equality of men is proved false by the unlikeness of men in size, color, weight, health, property, &c. In these, and many other particulars, the Reviewer skilfully uncoils the snaky folds of the Bishop's sophistry, making plain to every reader both the fact of mis-statement and the intent of deception. This exposure is made, not only with masterly ability, but with much-needed plainness of speech, except for the blunder, inexcusable in so skilled a reasoner, yet repeatedly made, of calling this mendacious Bishop "a Christian."

One other mistake, into which our Reviewer has fallen, has misled so many persons, and been used so extensively by ecclesiastical deceivers as a white-wash for pro-slavery character, that it needs to be corrected.

This is the position taken in regard to slavery by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in 1818. Our author says, p. 6—

"In 1818, the General Assemby of the Presbyterian Church, North and South, declared *unanimously* that slavery is utterly inconsistent with Christianity."

This is perfectly true, but it is only half the truth. The same document expressly permitted the indefinite continuance of slaveholding among Presbyterian ministers and church-members. And the combination, in that famous document, of anti-slavery language with a pro-slavery policy, is only another specimen of that deceit among ecclesiastical authorities which the Reviewer has exposed in Bishop Hopkins's pamphlet. A very large number of the people who adopted that Presbyterian Declaration in 1818 were slaveholders; and they have remained slaveholders ever since; and a considerable proportion of them and their descendants now declare slavery to be wholly right and Christian, and have joined that atrocious Southern rebellion which hopes to perpetuate and extend it. How are these inconsistencies to be explained?

Let me first give the evidence that this Declaration of the Presbyterian General Assembly in 1818 *did* allow the continuance of slaveholding. Here are passages from that document, which I emphasize by *italics*, and to which I prefix appropriate headings:—

HOW THE SLAVEHOLDING OF PRESBYTERIAN MINISTERS AND CHURCH-MEMBERS IS NOT A SIN, BUT ONLY AN "EVIL," AND NOT VOLUNTARY, BUT "ENTAILED UPON THEM"!

"We do, indeed, tenderly sympathize with those portions of our Church and our country where the evil of slavery has been entailed upon them."

HOW THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY DISCOURAGE IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION!

"The number of slaves, their ignorance, and their vicious habits generally, render an immediate and universal emancipation inconsistent alike with the safety and the happiness of the master and the slave."

HOW THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY DISCOURAGE AGITATION AGAINST SLAVEHOLDING IN THE CHURCH!

"And we, at the same time, exhort others to forbear harsh censures and uncharitable reflections on their brethren, who unhappily live among slaves whom they cannot immediately set free."

HOW THEY PROPOSE THE EXPATRIATION OF COLORED AMERICANS, AND TRY TO WHITEWASH THE SLAVEHOLDING FOUNDERS OF THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY!

"We recommend to all our people to patronize and encourage the Society lately formed for colonizing in Africa, the land of their ancestors, the free people of color in our country . . . And we exceedingly rejoice to have witnessed its origin and organization among the holders of slaves, as giving an *unequivocal* pledge of their desires to deliver themselves and their country from the calamity of slavery."!!!

HOW THEY NOT ONLY EXPRESSLY LICENSE A CONTINUANCE OF SLAVEHOLDING, BUT SUGGEST THE TEACHING OF THE SLAVES THAT GOD AUTHORIZES THEIR ENSLAVEMENT!

"We recommend to all the members of our religious denomination not only to permit, but to facilitate and encourage, the instruction of *their slaves* in the principles and duties of the Christian religion; by granting them liberty to attend on the preaching of the Gospel, *when they have opportunity*; by favoring the instruction of them in the Sabbath School, *wherever those schools can be formed*; and by giving them all other *proper* advantages for acquiring a knowledge of their duty both to God and man. We are perfectly satisfied that it is incumbent on all *Christians* to communicate religious instruction to *those who are under their authority*: so that the doing of this in the case before us, *so far from operating, as some have apprehended that it might, as an incitement to insubordination and insurrection*, would, on the contrary, operate as the MOST POWERFUL MEANS FOR THE PREVENTION OF THOSE EVILS."

HOW THEY LICENSE SLAVERY, AND FORBID ONLY "CRUELTY" TO SLAVES!

"We enjoin it upon all Church Sessions and Presbyteries, under the care of this Assembly, to discountenance, and, *as far as possible*, to prevent, all cruelty, of whatever kind, in the treatment of slaves."

HOW THEY LICENSE THE SALE OF SLAVES WITHOUT EVEN INQUIRY ON THE PART OF THE CHURCH, UNLESS THE SLAVE AS WELL AS THE MASTER IS A CHURCH-MEMBER!

"And if it shall ever happen that a Christian professor in our communion shall sell a slave who is also in communion and good standing with our Church, contrary to his or her will and inclination, it ought immediately to claim the particular attention of the proper church judicature."—*See Assembly's Digest, pp.* 274–8.

These pro-slavery provisions follow the anti-slavery talk at the commencement of this famous document of the Presbyterian Church. How are we to account for the combination of ideas so opposite in the same instrument? Plainly, thus:—

A minority in that Church were strong and earnest opposers of slavery, constantly troubling the majority by their opposition. When these pressed for action of the Church upon this subject, and it was found that *some* action was necessary to avert division, the sagacious old leaders of the General Assembly tried the policy of compromise, giving, in the same document, excellent anti-slavery talk to the protesting minority, and a continued allowance of slaveholding to those who wished still to hold slaves. The latter, of course, took the *practical* concession thus made to them, rejoicing that their opponents were quieted by merely *verbal* concessions. The former made the enormous mistake of accepting the anti-slavery *talk* as satisfactory, in a document which allowed the indefinite continuance of slaveholding. The result of their error is clearly manifest in the fact that Presbyterians now are among the most pertinacious of slaveholders; that the "New School" are largely contaminated with it, while the "Old School," for the most part, give a hearty support to Jeff. Davis's atrocious rebellion against the government.

The double-faced Presbyterian Declaration of 1818, which has allowed slavery not only to exist, but to increase in corruption, from that time to the present, ought never to be quoted as an anti-slavery document.—C. K. W.

THE PRESENT CRISIS.

The Abolitionists have labored years long to convince the North of the real character and designs of the Slave Power, and to arouse the people to some effectual resistance to its aggressions. The events of the last ten years have taught them that the nation was sunk too low in the scale of morals to look forward with even a forlorn hope to such a result, until some overwhelming stride at once to seize the whole function of government should wake them from their death-like lethargy to defend their own rights. That hour has come. Shall they repudiate the child they have prayed for so long? True, it is not to their liking, but they could not control the laws of its parentage. Born of the whirlwind, it will not exhibit the character of the lamb. It is the highest product of the prevailing Christianity which says, "Defend the Union, (not the slave,) government is divine, and it is the highest duty of the Christian and the patriot to protect the Constitution at all hazards." Ah, Mr. Clergyman, a diviner power than the government stands behind the throne to settle this question. The people hate slavery some, from principle; but far more because it touches their pride, and disturbs their peace and prosperity. They liked it well enough at a distance, when it concerned only another race; but when it comes to their own firesides, they loathe its horrid presence. So Herod and Pilate have joined hands to extirpate it, if it will not keep its own side of the fence, in order to ensure quiet; under the Constitution, if they can, over it, if they must. This involves another issue not presented yet; a conflict between the people and the government, which must necessarily be anticipated and provided for; but, of course, it will be deferred till the last extremity. So far as the Union is concerned, it will be a sham fight, for there is none to defend. There is nothing left but the withered parchment of the Constitution which they are vainly striving to uphold—vainly, for the sceptre they have so long wielded to perpetuate oppression has been wrested from them by a higher Power, and they are being made the blind instruments of deliverance from the most villanous tyranny upon which the sun ever shone. Whether viewed in the light of facts or philosophy, we could have no possible reason to expect the present contest to assume any higher form than it now presents. Never yet was a war waged in behalf of justice and humanity. The moment the soul rises to the sublime height of giving freedom to the slave for his own sake, aside from any selfish interest, it catches a glimpse of the glorious banner suspended from the eternal throne of God, "Peace on earth; good will to men." Such always has been, and still is, the position of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

Let no Abolitionist think that he does God service or helps the slave by enlisting in the war. His is a far higher and holier mission; to deepen the growing conviction that the country can never have peace until slavery is exterminated, root and branch, and urge it on to a final issue. We cannot trust this sacred cause to the uncertain chances of war, or to the heterogeneous materials that compose it. So far as that is concerned, the only hope for the slave rests in the fanaticism of the South, in refusing to come to terms. Neither will the hydra-headed monster die with one death. Long after he is thought to have yielded up the ghost will he rear again his brazen crest, and summon the Abolitionists to a renewal of their labors. But may we not at the same time recognize, without inconsistency, or infidelity to our cherished principles, those eternal laws by which sin and its retribution are made to serve the purposes of Heaven; and observe how, in the seething caldron of war, which never settles any principles, but is merely the raging of the human passions brought into conflict with the everlasting right, the selfishness and craftiness of men are made subservient to the behests of infinite wisdom as a part of the divine economy.

The triumph of a reform rests not in the conversion of the masses, but in the development of those influences which create an irrepressible antagonism between national prosperity and those institutions opposed to the upward tendencies of the human soul, to which the masses are made to yield as an irrevocable law of their being.

In times like this, we need to live two lives in one, and be able to grasp all sides from a single stand-point of observation, in order to preserve our identity for two days in succession. None of us have changed, or departed from our original principles. The rapidity of startling events has suddenly called out the special individualities of our characters, and the various shades of thought and feeling which the slow process of years might never have developed.

Adhering to technicalities, if we maintain that both sides are fighting for slavery, we must admit that it is a house divided against itself, and therefore it cannot stand. Divested of them, the question is simply this: Who is on the Lord's side, and who is against? We are all one in a holy purpose, each scrupulously guarding and watching the angel child Liberty, that no stain may appear on her garments.

If, when Thomas Sims was knocking at the door of American civilization for a recognition of his birthright, instead of a court-house in chains, and a Massachusetts Judge crouching beneath them, there had been enough moral life to have sounded forth from church-spire and hill-top, work-shop and valley, the bugle-blast of the poet,—

"No slave-hunt in our borders—no pirate on our strand!
No fetters in the Bay State—no slave upon our land!"

we would not now be treading the bloody fields of civil war.

But, accepting the present for what it is, the first breaking up of the powers of darkness, it is a glorious time to live. The clashing of the elements is soul-stirring music to the ear. It is the sound of the demons coming out, to be followed by the sweet songs of the angels of peace.

Worcester. S. E. W.

MAJOR WINTHROP'S LAST ARTICLE.

We copy from advance sheets of the July number of the *Atlantic Monthly*, portions of an article contributed to that magazine by the lamented Major Winthrop, late of the Seventh Regiment of New York city. The following is his account of the temporary quarters of the soldiers at the Capitol:—

"They gave us the Representatives Chamber for quarters. Without running the gauntlet of caucus, primary and election, every one of us attained that sacred shrine.

In we marched, tramp, tramp. Bayonets took the place of buncombe. The frowzy creatures in ill-made dress-coats, shimmering satin waistcoats, and hats of the tile model, who lounge, spit, and vociferate there, and name themselves M. C., were off. Our neat uniforms and bright barrels showed to great advantage, compared with the usual costumes of the usual *dramatis personæ* of the scene.

It was a dramatic business, our entrance there. The new Chamber is gorgeous, but ineffective. Its ceiling is flat and panneled with transparencies. Each pannel is the coat-of-arms of a State, painted on glass. I could not see that the impartial sunbeams, tempered by this skylight, had burned away the insignia of the malcontent States. Nor had any rampant secessionist thought to punch any of the seven lost Pleiads out from that firmament with a long pole. Crimson and gold are prevailing hues of the decorations. There is no unity and breadth of coloring. The desks of the members radiate in double files from a white marble tribune in the centre of the semicircle.

In came the new actors on this scene. Our presence here was the inevitable sequel of past events. We appeared with bayonets and bullets, because of the bosh uttered on this floor; because of the bills—with treasonable stump speeches in their bellies—passed here; because of the cowardice of the poltroons, the imbecility of the dodgers, and the arrogance of the bullies, who had here cooperated to blind and corrupt the minds of the people. Talk had made a miserable mess of it. The *ultima ratio* was now appealed to.

Some of our companies were marched up stairs into the galleries. The sofas were to be their beds. With their white cross-belts and bright breast-plates, they made a very picturesque body of spectators for whatever happened in the hall, and never failed to applaud in the right or the wrong place at will.

Most of us were bestowed in the amphitheatre. Each desk received its man. He was to scribble on it by day, and sleep under it by night. When the desks were all taken, the companies overflowed into the corners and into the lobbies. The staff took committee-rooms. The colonel reigned in the Speaker's parlor.

Once in, firstly, we washed.

Such a wash merits a special paragraph. I compliment the M. C.'s, our hosts, upon the water privileges. How we welcomed this chief luxury, after our march! And thenceforth how we prized it! For the clean face is an institution which requires perpetual renovation, at Washington. "Constant vigilance is the price" of neatness. When the sky here is not travelling earthward in rain, earth is mounting skyward in dust. So much dirt must have an immoral effect.

After the wash, we showed ourselves to the eyes of Washington, marching by companies, each to a different hotel, to dinner. This became one of the ceremonies of our barrack life. We liked it. The Washingtonians were amused and encouraged by it. Three times a day, with marked punctuality, our lines formed, and tramped down the hill to scuffle with awkward squads of waiters, for fare more or less tolerable. In these little marches we encountered, by-and-by, the other regiments, and, most soldierly of all, the Rhode Island men, in blue flannel blouses and *bersagliere* hats. But of them hereafter. It was a most attractive post of ours at the Capitol. Spring was at its freshest and fairest. Every day was more exquisite than its forerunner. We drilled morning, noon and evening, almost hourly, in the pretty square east of the building. Old soldiers found that they rattled through the manual twice as alert as ever before. Recruits became old soldiers in a trice. And as to awkward squads, men that would have been the veriest louts and lubbers in the piping times of peace, now learned to toe the mark, to whisk their eyes right and their eyes left, to drop the butts of their muskets without crushing their corns, and all the mysteries of flank and file—and so became full-fledged heroes before they knew it.

In the rests between our drills we lay under the young shade on the sweet young grass, with the odors of snowballs and horse-chestnut blooms drifting to us with every whiff of breeze, and amused ourselves with watching the evolutions of our friends of the Massachusetts Eighth, and other less experienced soldiers, as they appeared upon the field. They, too, like ourselves, were going through the transformations. These sturdy fellows were then in a rough enough chrysalis of uniform. That shed, they would look worthy of themselves.

But the best of the entertainment was within the Capitol. Some three thousand or more of us were now quartered there. The Massachusetts Eighth were under the dome. No fear of want of air for them. The Massachusetts Sixth were eloquent for their State in the Senate Chamber. It was singularly fitting, among the many coincidences in the history of this regiment, that they should be there, tacitly avenging the assault upon Sumner, and the attempts to bully the impregnable Wilson.

In the recesses, caves and crypts of the Capitol, what other legions were bestowed, I do not know. I daily lost myself, and sometimes when out of my reckoning was put on the way by sentries of strange corps, a Reading Light Infantry man, or some other. We all fraternized. There was a fine enthusiasm among us; not the soldierly rivalry in discipline that may grow up in future between men of different States acting together, but the brotherhood of ardent fellows first in the field, and earnest in the cause.

All our life in the Capitol was most dramatic and sensational."

Taking the oath is described as follows:—

"We raised our right hands, and, clause by clause, repeated the solemn obligation, in the name of God, to be faithful soldiers of our country. It was not quite so comprehensive as the beautiful knightly pledge administered by King Arthur to his comrades, and transmitted to our time by Major General Tennyson of the Parnassus Division. We did not swear, as they did of yore, to be true lovers as well as loyal soldiers. *Ca va sans dire* in 1861—particularly when you were engaged to your Amanda the evening before you started, as was the case with many a stalwart brave, and many a mighty man of a corporal or sergeant in our ranks.

We were thrilled and solemnized by the stately ceremony of the oath. This, again, was most dramatic; a grand public recognition of a duty; a reavowal of the fundamenal belief that our system was worthy of the support, and our government of the confidence, of all loyal men. And there was danger in the middle distance of our view into the future—danger of attack, or dangerous duty of advance, just enough to keep any trifler from feeling that his pledge was mere holiday business.

So, under the cloudless blue sky, we echoed in unison the sentences of the oath. A little low murmur of rattling arms, shaken with the hearty utterance, made itself heard in the passes. Then the band crashed in magnificently.

We were now miserable mercenaries, serving for low pay and rough rations. Read the Southern papers, and you will see us described. "Mud-sills"—that, I believe, is the technical word. By repeating a form of words after a gentleman in a glazed cap and black raiment, we had suffered change into base assassins, the offscourings of society, starving for want of employment, and willing to 'imbrue our coarse fists in fraternal blood' for the sum of eleven dollars a month, besides hard tack, salt junk, and a hope of a Confederate States' bond apiece for bounty, or free lots in the treasuries of Florida, Mississippi and Arkansas, after the war. How carefully from that day we watched the rise and fall of United States stock! If they should go low among the nineties, we felt that our eleven dollars *per mensem* would be imperilled.

We stayed in our palace for a week or so after April 26th, the day of the oath. That was the most original part of our duty, thus far. New York never had so unanimous a deputation on the floor of the Representatives Chamber before, and never a more patriotic one. Take care, gentlemen members of Congress! look to your words and your acts honestly and wisely in future! don't palter with liberty again! it is not well that soldiers should get into the habit of thinking they are always to unravel the snarls and cut the knots twisted and tied by clumsy or crafty fingers. The traitor States need the *main de fer*—yes, and without the *gant de velours*. Let us beware, and keep ourselves worthy of the boon of self-government, man by man! I do not wish to hear, 'order arms!' and 'charge bayonets!' in the Capitol. But this present defence of free speech and free thought ends, let us hope, that danger forever.

When we had been ten days in our showery barracks, we began to quarrel with luxury. What had private soldiers to do with the desks of lawgivers? Why should we be allowed to revel longer in the dining-rooms of Washington hotels, partaking the admirable dainties there?

The May sunshine, the birds and the breezes of May invited us to camp, the genuine thing, under canvas. Besides, Uncle Sam and Abe wanted our room for other company. Washington was filling up fast with uniforms. It seemed as if all the able-bodied men in the country were moving, on the first of May, with all their property on their backs, to agreeable, but dusty lodgings on the Potomac."

The article closes as follows:

"Under Providence, Washington owes its safety, 1st, to Gen. Butler, whose genius devised the circumvention of Baltimore and its rascal crew, and whose utter bravery executed the plan; he is the Grand Yankee of this little period of the war. 2d, to the other Most Worshipped Grand Yankees of the Massachusetts regiment who followed their leader, as he knew they would, discovered a forgotten colony called Annapolis, and dashed in there, asking no questions. 3d. And while I gladly yield the first places to this General and his men, I put the Seventh in as last, but not least, in saving the capital. Character always tells. The Seventh, by good, hard, faithful work at drill, had established its fame as the most thorough militia regiment in existence. Its military and moral character were excellent. The mere name of the regiment carried weight. It took the field as if the field were a ball-room. There were myriads eager to march; but they had not made ready beforehand.

Yes, the Seventh had its important share in the rescue. Without our support, whether our leaders tendered it eagerly or hesitatingly, Gen. Butler's position at Annapolis would have been critical, and his forced march to the capital a forlorn hope—heroic but desperate.

So honor to whom honor is due.

Here I must cut short my story. So good-bye to the Seventh, and thanks for the fascinating month I have passed in their society. In this pause of the war, our camp life has been to me as brilliant as a permanent pic-nic.

Good-bye to Company I, and all the fine fellows, rough and smooth, cool old hands, and recruits verdant but ardent. Good-bye to our Lieutenants, to whom I owe much kindness. Good-bye, the Orderly, so peremptory on parade, so indulgent off. *Good-bye, everybody.*

And so in haste I close."

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS.

We are astonished at the course of the Republican journals in noticing the death of Senator Douglas. These same journals, last year, denounced him without sparing, as the worst politician in the whole country, whose success was most of all to be feared. There was propriety in doing so, because he was a candidate of a party organized upon principles adverse to true Republicanism, and at war with the best interests of the country. He was the representative of those principles, and had made himself so by the whole course of his political life. Republican journals spoke of him and his views as alike dangerous, and to be dreaded. They warned the people solemnly against putting him in power, as an act that would hopelessly ruin the country. No one of all the editors of Republican papers opposed Mr. Douglas because of any *personal* objection. It was as the representative of modern Democracy they made war upon him. Since last year, Mr. Douglas has not professed to have changed any of his views or principles. He has no where said that he had erred in his political life. On no occasion has he said he was wrong, in the history of his last fifteen years—when he has been the advocate of all the measures that have led to this war. He sustained all those measures of compromise that demoralized the North, and encouraged Southern outrages. He was the leading spirit in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Of slavery he said, he cared not "whether it was voted up or voted down," though beyond this indifference he was with the South, pro-slavery. He was the bitter and constant supporter of Missouri ruffianism in Kansas. He stood by, when Brooks assaulted Sumner, and never lifted hand or voice against that fearful outrage. When he opposed the Lecompton Constitution, he was careful to place that opposition on the ground that it was contrary to the principles of the bill repealing the Missouri Compromise. He was constantly for the rigid enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law, and every where defended the South in the principle of slaveholding.

When this war commenced, he declared himself for the Union, and the maintenance of the Government. That was all. He had never been for secession, and never dared to be. He occupied the place of all his party—of all parties of the North—nothing more. But he was especially careful to insist, in all his speeches, that it was the flag and the Union that he supported—not Republicanism, nor anti-slavery freedom. He carefully said that slavery had nothing to do with the strife—that it was a question of Union, merely—a question whether we should *trade* freely through the Mississippi Valley. He scouted the idea that this war, in any shape, was a war for freedom from slavery, or against the extension of slavery. No where did he repudiate any of his former views or policy, or accept any Republican principle. He merely supported the Administration as a Union man, studiously rejecting any semblance of the support of Republicanism. He did what he *dared not refuse to do*; and not a word or act of his proves that his support of the war was from any regard for free principles, or the advancement of humanity.

This was his public character. This is as he was seen till he was upon his death bed. He never changed towards Republicanism, and his friends would promptly reject any such charge. They would at this moment reject with contempt, any pretence that he had changed. All that Douglas was before the public, he is still. His history is the same. If it was right to oppose it then, it is now. For the man personally, his personal friends should speak and mourn. The public have relation only to him as a politician. Republican editors who opposed him six months ago, only stultify themselves by laudations of him now. He has not changed, and his friends and the world know that he has not. Then do not the Republican papers now in mourning for him and lamenting his death, and those who have hung flags at half-mast for him, only say to the world that they falsely represented him to their readers in October last, that they lied about him and accused him untruly? How will the public rely upon a paper that last year denounced as the worst of men, the man whose death it now laments as a public calamity, and an irreparable loss to the nation?—*Ashtabula Sentinel.*

WHAT THE SOUTH WANTS.

Mr. Russell, in his sixth letter to the London *Times*, written from Charleston, says:—

Nothing I could say can be worth one fact which has forced itself upon my mind in reference to the sentiments which prevail among the gentlemen of this State. I have been among them for several days. I have visited their plantations, I have conversed with them freely and fully, and I have enjoyed that frank, courteous, and graceful intercourse which constitutes an irresistible charm of their society. From all quarters has come to my ears the echoes of the same voice; it may be feigned, but there is no discord in the note, and it sounds in wonderful strength and monotony all over the country.

Shades of George III., of North, of Johnson, of all who contended against the great rebellion which tore these colonies from England, can you hear the chorus which rings through the State of Marion, Sumter and Pinckney, and not clap your ghostly hands in triumph? That voice says, "If we could only get one of the royal race of England to rule over us, we should be content." Let there be no misconception on this point. That sentiment, varied in a hundred ways, has been repeated to me over and over again. There is a general admission that the means to such an end are wanting, and that the desire cannot be gratified. But the admiration for monarchical institutions on the English model, for privileged classes, and for landed aristocracy and gentry, is undisguised, and apparently genuine.

With the pride of having achieved their independence is mingled in the South Carolinian's heart a strange regret at the result and consequences, and many are they who "would go back to-morrow if we could." An intense affection for the British connection, a love of British habits and customs, a respect for British sentiment, law, authority, order, civilization and literature, pre-eminently distinguish the inhabitants of this State, who, glorying in their descent from ancient families on the three islands, whose fortunes they still follow, and with whose members they maintain not unfrequently familiar relations, regard with an aversion of which it is impossible to give an idea to one who has not seen its manifestations to the people of New England and the population of the Northern States, whom they regard as tainted beyond cure by the venom of "Puritanism." Whatever may be the cause, this is the fact and the effect.

WHY THE SOUTH BELIEVES MR. LINCOLN TO BE A DRUNKARD.

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., May 23, 1861.

There must be some adequate cause for the impression which prevails among the less intelligent and least informed classes throughout the Southern States, that Mr. Lincoln is an habitual and confirmed drunkard. It is well known that the publications of the Harpers have an extended circulation there. In that region their *Magazine* is the standard of classic literature, and their *Weekly*, with its profuse illustrations, is regarded as the very mirror of the times. Both of these periodicals are—or were until quite recently—received as gospel by those of our Southern brethren who indulged the taste for reading. No longer ago than the 2d of March, when Mr. Lincoln was proceeding toward Washington, *Harper's Weekly* appeared with a couple of illustrations, so outrageous in character and purpose that the following comments were prepared at that time. They were not published, in the hope that the pictures might pass into oblivion, doing no harm. That hope has not been realized, and it is proper now to remember the immediate source of this evil. When a President of the United States, regularly elected by the people, is represented as lying dead drunk in the Executive chambers, it becomes us to know who started the lying story. The following is a brief description of an illustration in *Harper's Weekly* of March 2d, the fidelity of which many readers of the *Democrat* will recognize. It is entitled: "Our Presidential Merryman." Here Mr. Lincoln is caricatured in a state of maudlin drunkenness; hair and clothes disordered, glass in hand, and surrounded by a group of loafers, grinning and drinking.

There is not the semblance of truth as a palliation for this miserable lie; wherever known, Mr. Lincoln is regarded as the most temperate and abstemious of men, and the brothers Harper were fully aware of this.

In the distance is seen the *Union* and *Constitution*, in a hearse, going to their burial. All this is founded on a quotation from a daily paper: "The Presidential party was engaged in a lively exchange of wit and humor. The President elect was the merriest among the merry, and kept those around him in a continual roar."

A picture teaches a thing a thousand times more effectively, and leaves its impress a thousand times more lastingly on the mind, than the most vivid and graphic language. It matters not what position the Harpers may assume now, they cannot escape the responsibility of a falsehood which belongs especially to them. Let the whole country remember that it is to them we owe the invention of that chaste and elegant fiction, that the Chief Magistrate of this people is a besotted drunkard. RALEIGH.

—*Correspondence of the Missouri Democrat.*

THE STANDARD BEARER OF THE SIXTH.

Rev. Mr. Hepworth, in writing from Baltimore to the Boston *Journal*, pays the following tribute to a hitherto unapplauded hero:—

The standard bearer of the Sixth regiment, in its march through Baltimore, as noble a fellow as ever wore the uniform of the old Bay State, was TIMOTHY CROWLEY. His two aids were sergeants Derrill and Marland. Unused, as indeed all our soldiers were, to the rough usage of actual warfare, it would not have been strange if Crowley had shown some signs of fear. Indeed, he might have rolled up the colors which would inevitably call down upon him the hatred of the vast and murderous mob. But Crowley was not made of such stuff. He had sworn to stand by his standard, and with him it was either succeed or die in the attempt. Pistols were freely fired, but the company saw at their head that standard proudly leading them on. No one who has never been in the service can imagine how the colors of a regiment keep up its courage. So long as they are defiant, the company have light hearts; if they should be taken away, a strange distrust runs through the whole force. Well, the troops had lost their band, they did not have even a fife and drum, and so they kept their eyes fixed upon this standard. Tramp, tramp, tramp, left, left, left, the music of their own steady, measured tread. this was all they had. Crowley was the target for many a missile, for the mob knew that to disgrace the regiment, it was only necessary to down with the standard. Paving stones flew thick and fast, some just grazing Crowley's head, and some hitting the standard itself, marks of which were shown in. And this shows the everlasting pluck of Crowley. One stone—my informant said it seemed as large as a hat—struck him just between the shoulders a terrible blow, and then rested on his knapsack. And yet Crowley did not budge. With a firm step, he went on, carrying the rock on his knapsack for several yards, until one of the sergeants stepped up and knocked it off. "And," said the chaplain, "Heaven only knows what our boys would have done if that standard had been taken; they never would have recovered from such a disgrace." Such a noble act, it seems to me, is worthy of record. Crowley showed himself a man. It was not that impulsive kind of action which we call brave; it was something better. The soldier who is simply brave stands only on the lowest round of the ladder of heroism. All men may be brave. Crowley was cool; he knew beforehand what the consequences might be; he reckoned all the chances. He showed true *courage*—an element of character which is Godlike; it was not impulse, it was real manliness.